The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, MARCH 17, 1887.

The Week.

It is a long while since there has been a more conspicuous application of the spoils doctrine in our politics than in the substitution by Gov. Lounsbury of a paper-barrel manufacturer for Prof. Arthur T. Hadley as Commissioner of the Bureau of Labor Statistics in Connecticut. During his two years' service Mr. Hadley has won a place as an investigator and statistician beside such men as Carroll D. Wright and Francis A. Walker; he has disarmed the not unnatural prejudice of the labor organizations against a college professor; he has rendered not only the State but also the country great service by reports which have taken a high rank in the literature of industrial study. Experience had qualified him to render the public far greater service in the future; and every consideration which would lead a man like Gov. Lounsbury to retain in his private employ a man of demonstrated capacity and fidelity, dictated Mr. Hadley's retention in the service of the State. The Republican party had really by implication committed itself to his reappointment when, in the convention which nominated Mr. Lounsbury, it adopted this resolution: "We demand an honest and thorough enforcement of the Civil-Service Law, and as far as practicable we favor the extension of its principles to municipal and State administrations," the most fundamental of these principles being the retention of faithful officials.

Gov. Lounsbury's attempt to explain his extraordinary course only shows how sadly the acceptance of the spoils system may warp the judgment of a man. In the conduct of his private business Mr. Lounsbury probably has no fixed terms of employment, engaging his trusted subordinates upon the usual system, which really amounts to retention during good behavior. If there were, however, regular times for deciding the question whether a man should be reëngaged for another definite period, he would expect the man to rest his claims to such reëngagement solely upon his record. This is precisely the course which Prof. Hadley pursued in his relations with his employer, the State of Connecticut. After remarking that some persons, chiefly protectionist manufacturers, had objected to Prof. Hadley on the ground that he was a free-trader, the Governor says, as though he were adducing a perfectly conclusive reason for his course: "I have not been asked to reappoint Mr. Hadley by a single individual. I have not received a single letter requesting his reappointment. Mr. Hadley himself never mentioned the matter to me. In view of all these facts, I decided that I should not be justified in making a reappointment." In other words, Prof. Hadley, like a self-respecting gentleman, chose to rest his claim to reappointment solely upon his record. He employed no lobbyists to urge his reappointment. He urged no friends to write letters to the Governor in his behalf. (We should not be surprised to learn that he might even have asked his friends to refrain from writing, because he did not wish the element of personal solicitation to enter into the matter.) The newspaper press of the State, as the event has shown, and as he doubtless knew, was almost unanimous in desiring his reappointment, and yet he did not procure, as so easily he might have done, the intervention in his behalf of a single Republican editor. And because he pursued this course, because he preferred his own self-respect as a gentleman to the adoption of the truckling politician's methods, the Governor decided that he "should not be justified in making a reappointment"!

Mr. Edmunds has been interviewed on the subject of the next Presidency, and his remarks will be read with interest in the latitude of Augusta, Me. To the question whether Mr. Cleveland would hold the Republican votes he got before if he should run again (as Mr. Edmunds expects him to do), the Vermont Senator replied: "As between two evils they would vote for him." But he does not expect that it will again be a choice "between two evils" in 1888. Having confidence in the wisdom of the Republican party, he thinks it is "sure to nominate a good man" the next time.

Mr. Wharton Barker, one of Mr. Blaine's stanchest supporters in Pennsylvania, says in last week's *American*, discussing the Presidency in 1888: "We say frankly, and we know that we are speaking for many Republicans when we say, that it would be a most desperate experiment, in view of the consequences of failure, to renominate Mr. Blaine. He has had his candidacy. He was loyally supported by every element that will have the right or the opportunity to consider the second proposal of his name. That he failed is not their fault, but his misfortune. He cannot justly ask them to enter with him again on so perilous a venture." He intimates, also, that Mr. Blaine, like Mr. Clay in 1844, reached the height of his strength in 1884, and he asks, "Is it possible to increase or even maintain the enthusiasm of his admirers of two years ago? Is it possible to bring him any new elements of support? Is there any quarter in which he is more popular now than in 1884? Is the confidence which he inspires in other public men and party leaders greater?" All these questions he answers in the negative. Of Mr. Barker's suggestion of Sherman and Harrison as substitutes for Blaine, we will now say nothing, except this, that if Mr. Blaine's supporters mean to withdraw him from the field next year, they must do it thoroughly, and without reservation or subterfuge—that is, they must not only relieve the party of Blaine, but of Blaineism. They must not put up somebody who has a secret agreement with Blaine to work under his orders or influence, or to put him into the State Department, so as to enable him to begin over again the old pyrotechnics of 1881. For t must not be forgotten that Blaine's performances as Secretary of State disgusted and alarmed nearly as many Republicans as his financial trickery and falsehood.

Senator Sherman says that "the House of Representatives should have taken the initial step looking to some measure to reduce taxation," and he berates the Democratic party for incapacity because nothing was done. Two conspicuous attempts to "take the initial step" in this direction by considering a tariff bill were made during the Forty-ninth Congress—in the first session on the 17th of June, 1886, and in the second on the 18th of December. On these occasions the two parties divided as follows:

	For Consideration.	Against.
June	136 Dems.	35 Dems.
	4 Reps.	122 Reps.
December	143 Dems.	25 Dems.
	6 Reps.	129 Reps.

It thus appears that on the question of taking the initial step 80 per cent. of the Democrats voted yea the first time, and 86 per cent. the second time; while only 3 per cent. of the Republicans stood on the right side in June, and but 4 per cent. in December. It will puzzle a shrewder politician than Mr. Sherman to convince the public, in the face of such a showing, that it is the Democratic party which should be held responsible for the failure to reduce taxation.

Speaker Carlisle's address to the Boston Democrats at the dinner of the Bay State Club on Saturday, like Senator Hawley's address to the Michigan Republicans at Detroit on Washington's Birthday, was a vigorous plea for State rights. Explicitly disclaiming any belief in secession or nullification, he enforced the necessity of maintaining States' rights in the proper sense against the present tendency toward centralization and a dangerous aggrandizement of the Federal Government. He urged that the Democratic party should reassert its ancient doctrines as to the nature and extent of Federal power. "It believes," he said, "that the Government was created for the people, and that its functions should be confined to the limits prescribed by them." This is the same idea which Mr. Cleveland so forcibly expressed in his Texas Seed Bill veto, that "though the people support the Government, the Government should not support the people." Indeed, Mr. Carlisle's speech throughout was really a response to the position against paternalism which the President assumed in his Seed Bill and Pauper Pension Bill vetoes. Its chief value is as showing that the wisest leaders of the Democratic party recognize that Mr. Cleveland's stand on this vital issue is as popular as it is sound.

The Tennessee Legislature responds quickly and heartily to the President's plea for a revival of the old-time "sturdiness of our national character." Within a week after Congress had adjourned, and the scheme of Federal aid to Southern education had thus lapsed,

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the lower branch of the Legislature, by a vote of more than five to one, passed a bill, in which the Senate will doubtless concur, increasing the amount of the permanent fund available for school purposes from $2,000,000 to $5,000,000, and so much more than doubling the annual contribution of the State to public education. Tennessee has been growing rapidly in material wealth of late years, and this action of the Legislature shows not only that the State is able to maintain a good school system, but, what is still more important, that she is ready to do it without trying any longer to unload the burden upon the shoulders of the Federal Government. It is an object-lesson in self-reliance and self-help which will not be lost upon other Southern States that have been backward in this matter. The Memphis *Appeal* does not exaggerate in the slightest degree when it declares that "Tennessee has not done anything in the last twenty-five years that redounds so much to her credit as the passage of this bill."

The refusal of the Missouri Legislature to make any appropriation for the expenses of the militia is beyond question due to the pressure of the labor vote, which was annoyed by the interference of the militia to protect life and property when the Knights were engaged in "war" with the railroad companies and the community in general last year. Of course the labor voters there as elsewhere are a small minority, but they frighten demagogues in the Legislature there as here, by the fact that they are organized and work together at the polls; and they will continue to frighten them until decent people band together in like manner for the punishment at the polls of the demagogues, like Gov. Hill, who pander to them. This is, however, an obvious view. We mention the subject mainly for the purpose of calling attention to the way in which such occurrences as this abolition of the militia in Missouri steadily encourage the growth among us of mercenary troops like Pinkerton's Men. Of course owners of property in Missouri, whether corporations or private individuals, are not going to leave themselves dependent on the city police and the sheriff for protection against "Labor." When threatened, they will promptly call in Pinkerton and garrison their premises in mediæval fashion. Pinkertons, too, will begin to multiply as the demand for private armed force increases, and the discipline and organization of their troops will be improved. It is not impossible that before the end of the century, if Americans do not wake up in the interval, we may see yards and factories protected by bastions armed with light artillery, and pitched battles fought between Scabs and Labor like the fights of the Ghibellines and Guelphs.

The attempt to organize the whole body of those who labor with their hands into a society hostile to all the rest of the community, and, indeed, to the Government and the laws, has been shown very clearly by the events of the past year to be a failure. Even Henry George begins to see this, and has the courage to say so. The notion that a large strike is more formidable than a small one has been thoroughly exploded. But the fact still remains that not only the Knights of Labor, but nearly all the trade-unions, are managed on the theory that employers are necessarily the enemies of the laboring man, and that capitalists—meaning people who have saved money and hold it as a fund for the employment of labor—are enemies of society and to be treated as such; that is, discouraged, denounced, and legislated against. This is not all, however, nor the worst. They are all, or nearly all, managed as military organizations; that is, ruled despotically by a few officers, whose word of command overrides the individual judgment of the members, not only about the general policy or utterances of the organization, but about each man's personal interests and those of his family. A very large proportion, the larger part, in fact, of the workingmen of this country, see all this as plainly as anybody and do not belong to the unions. But their position outside the unions is, as Mr. Hewitt has said, a "pitiable" one. Being unorganized, they have to stand alone, not only as against their employers, but as against the unions, which persecute them remorselessly, hunting them from town to town and shop to shop, as if they were wild animals, with a pitilessness and cruelty such as neither king nor capitalist would in our day venture to display towards any human being.

We are glad to say that a movement for the organization of the non-union men has at last been begun. The non-union printers have started an organization, which is intended to give those who do not care to surrender their individual judgment in the control of their lives, all the benefits in the way of assistance and protection which the unions now give their members, without robbing them of their freedom, and without placing them in an attitude of hostility to the rest of the community. It leaves its members, in short, part and parcel of the American business community—dependent, as editors, lawyers, and merchants are, for success and respect, in their callings, on integrity, and capacity, and independence, but shielded, as far as mutual help and coöperation can go, against all misfortunes not brought about by misconduct. It leaves every man to rely on honesty, diligence, and fair dealing for his standing in his calling, and discards such questionable practices of the old unions as striking without cause or without discussion, or waiting until the employer is in some pinch or necessity, and then stopping his business in such manner as to do him the greatest possible amount of damage, as if he were a criminal or outlaw. It proposes, in short, to place the workingman on a footing of business equality with the capitalist, with common aims and aspirations, and it recognizes the undoubted fact that no employer who is fit to carry on a business of any kind, is ever likely to resist the reasonable and fairly presented demands of a body of workmen whose intelligence, and reliableness, and capacity make them valuable to him. The new organization is called the Printers' Protective Fraternity.

Cardinal Gibbons, if correctly reported, has been partaking freely of the labor beverage, and appears to be as much under its influence as Gov. Hill. His report to the Propaganda on the view to be taken of the organization by the Church, which was published a fortnight ago, was, as far as literary form goes, a far better document than Gov. Hill could produce, but the reasoning was in all respects worthy of the Governor when his head is stuck deepest in the sand, and shows that "politics" sustained a terrible loss when the Cardinal entered the Church. He has since been reported as having announced himself "the enemy of plutocracy and of soulless corporations and men," as indeed we all are. But he adds, also, that the Catholic Church is "in this instance" (the case of the Knights) "going to take the side of the weaker against the stronger," which is also a blessed announcement, but, in the Cardinal's mouth, needs explanation. We hope that it means—but should like to be assured that it does—that the Cardinal himself is in this country going to take the side of the "scabs" against the Knights of Labor, which is, towards those laborers who do not belong to it, the most "soulless corporation" in existence.

The Cardinal, as a good Catholic, must surely intend, when he gets back, to assert the right of the individual poor man to regulate his own life in his own way, and especially his right to belong or not to belong to societies or organizations, and to sell his labor on his own terms to customers of his own choosing. By "the weaker" he must surely mean that vast body of laborers—the majority—who, because they do not wish to join the Knights or other associations, are, as Mr. Hewitt has well said, "called opprobrious names, hunted from shop to shop, denied employment on the fearful penalty of stopping all work, however pressing or important." This is not all, however. Mr. Hewitt might have added that they have often to follow their callings under the protection of an armed guard, are often afraid to return to their homes at night lest they should be murdered or maimed on the way; are often fired at with pistols, struck down with slung-shots, beaten with bludgeons, and denied food at the stores, simply for exercising the simplest of an American citizen's rights. The men who carry on this atrocious persecution, or encourage it, or wink at it, or say it cannot be helped, are the Knights of Labor, and notably such eminent Christians as Powderly, Turner, Quinn, and others, and that eminent philanthropist and philosopher, Henry George. We take it for granted the Cardinal has not heard of all this, and that when he does he will let loose some of his ecclesiastical thunder on those oppressors of the poor, the soulless ruffians who have been humbugging him into supporting at Rome the claims of one of the most anti-social and despotic organizations ever set up, to be petted and fostered by the Vicar of Jesus Christ.

We can vouch for the correctness of the following statement of the real features of the Sully-Garrett deal. Sully agreed to buy and Garrett agreed to sell 80,000 shares of Baltimore and Ohio stock at 200—that is, for the total sum of $16,000,000, payable as follows: $1,000,000 on Thursday last, 10th inst., $5,000,000 additional in forty-five days thereafter, $10,000,000 more in one

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year from the date of the contract. The contract further gave Sully the right to make the whole of the stock the basis of an issue of $10,000,000 collateral-trust debentures. In this very feature lay the impracticability of the scheme, for the creation of such a trust would leave the first six millions to be paid entirely "in the air." Mr. Garrett did not bind himself to put any of the stock in escrow, thus leaving the question an open one whether he would have been able to deliver the whole amount conditionally sold. For a long time negotiations have been carried on between Mr. Garrett and other parties than the Sully combination for the purchase of his interest in the Baltimore and Ohio stock. We have reason to think that these negotiations are far more likely to result in the accomplishment of their object than the collapsed other "deal."

The decision handed down by the Supreme Court a few days ago, whereby the "drummers' tax" levied on salesmen from other States by the "Taxing District of Shelby County, Tenn." (in other words, the city of Memphis), was declared to be unconstitutional, will deprive several States of considerable revenue. In an argument made last year before the House Committee of Commerce, counsel for the Traders' and Travellers' Union pointed out that fourteen States and Territories and the District of Columbia levy this tax in some form. Among them are Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, Alabama, Louisiana, Texas, and Colorado. The Richmond *State* says that the revenues of Virginia will be diminished by not less than $50,000; the revenues of North Carolina will fall off quite as much, and the loss will not be smaller, perhaps, in any of these States which had built a protective barrier against the "commercial missionary." Some of them levy a tax on salesmen whether they solicit orders for houses within or without the State; but since the Supreme Court has declared the tax on those who live outside the State unconstitutional, because it is an interference with the freedom of inter-State commerce over which Congress has exclusive control, the present taxes on "home drummers" are sure to be repealed by the next Legislatures of all these States. This decision makes unnecessary the bill introduced in Congress by Mr. Darwin R. James, which prohibits the levying of any such tax by any State on salesmen from other States.

The decision will have—at least it ought to have—a good effect on commercial morals that will do more than make up for the loss of revenue. These taxes were so generally evaded that in many communities it had become a point of honor among travelling salesmen not to pay them. At this evasion their customers winked, and not infrequently both drummer and customer profited privately by it. A premium was put on commercial dishonesty. The Traders' Union published the statement last year that 7,000 drummers visited Washington in 1885, and that instead of the $1,400,000 which the District of Columbia would have received if its $200 license fee had been paid by every one, it received only $10,000. "It may be pertinent," they remarked, "to inquire what became of the $1,390,000 not accounted for?" There is no reason to believe that the treasury of any State or Territory received a much larger proportion than this of the revenue that its law contemplated, and it is certain that this kind of "protection" did not protect anybody or encourage respect for the laws in general. Financially and morally it was very like protection on a larger scale.

If any of the women of this State feel downhearted over the defeat of the Municipal Woman-Suffrage Bill at Albany, they may find some consolation in a report just made by the Secretary of State of Massachusetts on the practical operation of the law of that State allowing women to vote at elections for school committees. This law has been in operation long enough to test the question how eager women are for the ballot, and the statistics are as follows: In 1881, 3,349 women qualified themselves to vote by registering, but of these only 1,571 went to the polls. In 1882, 2,951 women registered and 1,346 voted. The registration in 1883 was 3,138, and the vote 1,469; in 1884 the registration was 3,778, and the vote 1,896; in 1885 the registration was 5,260, and the vote 3,227; and in 1886 the registration was 4,219, and the vote 1,911. Thus in the six years the average number registered was 3,782, and the average vote was 1,903. Placing the average male vote of Massachusetts at 300,000, the total female vote should be 337,500, as the female population of the State exceeds the male by about 66,000. Therefore, we find that the eagerness of the female part of the population of Massachusetts for the ballot is measured by the fact that one woman in every 176 votes when she is allowed to. There is one point, however, brought out in these statistics which deserves consideration. While only one woman in 176 votes when she can, one in every 80 takes advantage of the opportunity to register. Perhaps, now, the female suffragists have made the mistake of demanding the ballot, when what the political female heart is longing for is to put her name on the registry list.

The Salisbury Ministry seem to be floundering from one difficulty into another in their dealings with the Irish question, and each one seems greater than the last. They have secured the promise of 70 votes from the Unionists in support of a measure of coercion, which is to consist simply of an enlargement of the summary powers of the local magistrates. Of Hartington they are tolerably sure to the end, as he looks at the whole Irish problem, land question and all, from the point of view of the heir to a great dukedom. The hold they have on Chamberlain and on the rank and file of the Unionists is of a different kind. These men calculate that if, by supporting the Tories pretty steadily, they can keep them in power during the present Parliament—say five years—they will before the next general election have got rid of Gladstone by death or infirmity. They feel very confident that no other Liberal will be able to keep home rule before the voters as a burning question, and they will thus be able bye-and-bye to step back into the Liberal ranks themselves without fear or reproach. This policy may work very well if nothing occurs to excite public opinion against the Ministry to a point which would frighten the main body of Unionists and lead to desertions. But things are daily occurring which make this contingency seem very probable.

As was expected, Bismarck's victory in the late electoral contest has had a tranquillizing effect upon European international politics. He has proved to France that he has all Germany, practically undivided, behind him, and that he will be prepared for every emergency. During the Parliamentary debates which preceded the election he had repeatedly assured France, and all Europe, that he was not going to be the attacking party "under any circumstances," and his conduct after the triumph is in evident harmony with that assurance. The reasonableness of the determination was, in fact, so patent, considering the general military and political situation, that only blind hatred could doubt its sincerity. The cry which some weeks ago went through France and Russia, and was reëchoed in other countries, that the republic was going to be invaded, is now almost completely hushed, and France is so delighted with the triumphant manifestation of French patriotism by the electoral constituencies of Alsace-Lorraine, that she quietly enjoys the cheering prospect of immunity from aggression, and waits for Russia to begin the attack on Germany.

This temporizing disposition of France keeps the sword of Russia in the scabbard, while to render Russian aggression a still more hazardous task, and the consummation of a Franco-Russian alliance an attempt of most questionable utility, the German Chancellor has tightened the bonds of the formerly indefinite alliance created by himself between Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Italy. A formal triple alliance, mutually guaranteeing the present possessions of the contracting Powers, is now positively asserted to have been concluded at the beginning of this month for three years. And it also appears from various indications that Rumania, hitherto wavering between two opposite tendencies—the desire to insure her security from the overwhelming pressure of the Russian neighbor, and the equally strong desire to wrest from Austria-Hungary, with the help of Russia, extensive districts mainly inhabited by Rumans—has finally decided on casting her lot with the Central European coalition. The King of Servia is more than an ally, he is almost a vassal, of the Hapsburg Emperor, who secures his throne against the pretenders of the House of Karageorge, now related by marriage to the Prince of Montenegro, the only faithful friend of the Czar in the Balkan Peninsula. The Sultan himself was nearly won over by skilful diplomacy to the Russian side in the great imbroglio, but he, too, has apparently been driven from it by the fear of having to contend both with Bismarck's coalition and the power of Great Britain. Russia thus remains isolated, with only France as a prospective ally. But she has a population of a hundred millions, a tremendous engine in autocracy, an undying fanaticism, and an unbounded faith in her Slavic destiny; and passion goads her on.

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SUMMARY OF THE WEEK'S NEWS.

WEDNESDAY, March 9, to TUESDAY, March 15, 1887, inclusive.]

DOMESTIC

THE bill providing support for the militia of the State of Missouri was defeated in the Legislature on March 9, and the companies theretofore organized have disbanded, or will disband. The failure of the bill is reported to be the result of the opposition of the labor organizations.

The lower house of the Tennessee Legislature has passed a bill to increase the permanent school fund of the State from $2,000,000 to $5,000,000, which, at six per cent. interest, will yield nearly $300,000, or $180,000 more than the present fund yields.

The Legislature of California has passed a "Pure-Wine Bill," which prohibits the manufacture of impure wine, and requires every wine-maker and bottler in the State to affix his name to all his bottles and casks. A label for every bottle or cask must be procured from the State Comptroller. But the law is not a revenue measure, for the State charges for the labels a price that covers only the expense of printing and distributing them.

More than 1,000 women at Leavenworth, Kan., have registered and will cast their votes, as allowed by the recently enacted law which grants municipal suffrage to women.

In the New York Assembly on March 15 the High-License Bill, which fixes the tax for selling spirituous liquors at $1,000, was ordered to a third reading by a vote of 65 to 51. All the yeas were Republicans. This insures the passage of the measure.

The Congressional Apportionment Committee of the lower house of the Pennsylvania Legislature has agreed on such a redistricting of the city of Philadelphia as, it is thought, will prevent the election of any Democratic Congressman from that city. This action is significant because it may "shut out" Mr. Randall.

The Florida State Colored Fair was opened at Jacksonville on March 15. The total value of the exhibits is not less than $400,000, and among them are drawings, maps, and other handiwork of the colored pupils of Florida schools. There is a big display of preserved fruits and cereals, and of fancy work, silk wraps, dresses, and the like.

Texas cattlemen have decided to build a large refrigerator canning and packing establishment at Houston, which will make Houston the most important cattle market in the South. Arrangements have already been made for the transportation of the beef to England.

The loss of cattle in Montana Territory this winter is thought already to be not less than 30 per cent., and many more will die before the snow entirely disappears. For two months the stock in many places has been almost without food and exposed to intense cold. The thermometer has been as low as 57 degrees below zero in Northern Montana. For the first ten days in February the average was 20 below. This extreme temperature, and the lack of grass, and hard-crusted snow two feet deep, have caused the death of even the hardiest animals. Sheep-raisers are suffering to almost the same extent as the cattlemen. The consequent financial depression extending to many branches of trade will be felt for the whole year. Stock-raising on the "rustling" plan, that is, by trusting to favorable weather on the ranches, it is reported, will not be extensively tried another season. The winter ranch, it is thought, will give way to the stock-farm.

Great destitution has been caused among the Cheyenne Indians in Montana because the snow has cut them off from the Government's supplies.

Many plantations below Vicksburg have been inundated by the overflow of the Mississippi River.

A company has been formed with $5,000,000 capital, it is reported, which will build cotton-seed oil mills in most of the Southern centres of trade.

The strike of the railroad employees at Pittsburgh and west of that city has caused a serious blockade of freight at Youngstown, O., but the strike has been discountenanced by the leaders of the labor organizations, and no further trouble is anticipated. Five hundred laborers on a railroad near Marquette, Mich., who struck for higher wages, were prevented by officers of the law from doing violence to new employees, and the work which was suspended for a few days has been resumed.

Great excitement was caused in railroad circles on March 9 and for several days following by the rumor that the control of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company had passed into the hands of a syndicate which would thereby become controllers of one of the most extensive railway systems in the world, extending from New York almost to the uttermost parts of the South and far into the West, and including the Central Railroad of New Jersey, the Philadelphia and Reading system, the Richmond Terminal and Richmond and Danville lines, the East Tennessee, Virginia and Georgia lines, the Central Railroad of Georgia, and the Baltimore and Ohio, making not less than 16,000 miles of track. This great consolidation has not been made, but there is yet expectation that some modification of it will be consummated.

On April 13 the centenary of the reorganization of Columbia College will be celebrated.

On March 9 the Board of Trustees of Cornell University elected a Law Faculty, consisting of Judge Douglas Boardman of the Supreme Court of New York, who will be Dean of the school; Prof. H. B. Hutchins of the Law School of the University of Michigan, Professor of the Law of Real and Personal Property and of Equity, and Charles A. Collin of Elmira, N. Y. In addition to these resident members of the Faculty, Judge Francis M. Finch of the Court of Appeals, Daniel H. Chamberlain of New York, William F. Coggswell of Buffalo, and Theodore Bacon of Rochester, were elected non-resident lecturers. Prof. Herbert Tuttle was elected Professor of English Constitutional Law and International Law, to lecture both in the Law School and in the School of History and Political Science. At a subsequent meeting the Executive Committee of the Board of Trustees appointed Francis M. Burdick of Hamilton College Associate Professor of Law.

A statue of Gen. Garfield will be unveiled in the circle at the junction of Maryland Avenue and First Street, Washington, on April 12.

The warden and engineer of the Cook County (Ill.) Hospital (in Chicago), the warden of the insane asylum, and a bookkeeper of a firm of contractors who have done work for the county, have been indicted by a Special Grand Jury for conspiracy to defraud the county.

The American yachts the *Dauntless* and the *Coronet* set sail from Sandy Hook on March 12, for a transatlantic race to Queenstown for a wager of $10,000 a side.

On the morning of March 14 a suburban train from Dedham, Mass., bound for Boston, on the Dedham branch of the Boston and Providence Railroad, fell through an iron girder bridge between Roslindale and Forest Hills, a station about six miles from Boston. The train comprised nine passenger coaches, six of which were thrown in the gap below, causing an appalling loss of life and limb. As many as 30 persons were killed and 100 injured. All the passengers were persons who lived in the suburbs of Boston or in the city itself.

Many thousands of people viewed the remains of Henry Ward Beecher in Plymouth Church, Brooklyn, on March 11. The funeral was preached by the Rev. Charles H. Hall, and funeral services were held in several other churches, and the business houses in Brooklyn were closed during the greater part of the day. Mr. Beecher was buried in Greenwood Cemetery on March 12.

James B. Eads, the engineer of the bridge across the Mississippi River at St. Louis, and of the Mississippi River levees, and the designer of a ship-railway across the Central American isthmus, died at Nassau on March 8. Eben F. Pillsbury died at Melrose, Mass, on March 12. He was until within a few years a resident of Augusta, Me., and was a prominent lawyer and Democratic politician in that State. He was appointed Collector of Internal Revenue for the Eastern District of Massachusetts by President Cleveland, but the Senate refused to confirm him.

FOREIGN.

On March 13, the anniversary of the assassination of Alexander II., an attempt was reported to have been made to take the life of the Czar. Persons with explosives in their possession were arrested in St. Petersburg on the route he was to have taken to attend a service held in commemoration of his father. The strongest confirmation of the seriousness of the plot is that the Czar again retired to his secluded residence at Gatchina, which he occupied during the first months of his reign. A report has been published at Vienna that a well-organized plot has been discovered to overthrow the Government of Russia, and to establish a limited constitutional government. This, however, lacks confirmation. The Imperial Court of St. Petersburg attended a funeral service before the tomb of Alexander II. in the Cathedral of St. Peter and St. Paul. Services were held in all the churches and at the shrine over the spot where he was killed. In the evening the city was illuminated in honor of the accession of Alexander III. The Czar on his forty-second birthday (March 10) received cordial telegrams from the King of Italy, the Emperor of Austria, and the Prince of Montenegro. The Emperor and Empress of Germany gave a gala dinner in his honor, at which Gen. von Moltke, Count Herbert Bismarck, all the members of the Russian Embassy, and many other distinguished persons were present.

Definite information was published on March 15 at London and Vienna that while the Czar was returning from the requiem services a bomb attached to a cord was thrown under his carriage. The intention was to tighten the string, which was connected with the mechanism, and thus explode the bomb; but, before it could be executed, the student who threw it and a suspected accomplice were seized. It was found that they lived together in a lodging-house in a suburb of the city. The police visited this house and discovered there a quantity of explosives and a number of revolutionary pamphlets. More than 200 persons have been arrested. The bomb was shaped like a book, so that it could be carried in the hand without exciting suspicion.

The persons arrested in connection with the constitutional plot indignantly deny that they are in any way connected with the effort to take the Czar's life. Their motto, they say, is "The people; with the Czar or against the Czar." They have published a lithographic periodical composed mainly of extracts from the works of notable writers on constitutional law and political economy. The statutes of the Society obliged all the members to join, at the signal of their chief, in doing their utmost to subvert the existing Government and establish a constitutional government. It is reported that the conspiracy of Russian land-owners and tradesmen to overthrow the Czar's Government was very extensive, and included a number of military officers, and that it was chiefly on this ground that the Czar was averse to undertaking war.

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The plot against the life of the Czar has had a tendency to revive talk of war. The Berlin *Post* on March 16 said: "With terror and regret we say that Europe must prepare to see Russia adopt a policy of despair, taking shape either in fatalistic resignation or frantic adventures. The latter is the more probable. It will require a superhuman effort on the part of the Czar to oppose the tempest of voices calling for war as a remedy for Russia's woes."

Two more of the leaders in the recent insurrection in Bulgaria have been sentenced to death, and 125 other participants in the revolt have been sentenced to prison. Conflicting reports have come of thwarted plots of insurgents, but there has been no other outbreak. The Regents have decided to summon the Great Sobranye and submit to it reports of the recent trouble, and to ask either that a supreme power for the government of the country be formed or that the present régime be confirmed.

It has been reported that the German police have discovered a great Anarchist conspiracy extending throughout Germany, Switzerland, Russia, and America. But no definite facts about it have been made known and no action taken, except to disband certain suspicious societies in Alsace-Lorraine.

During the discussion of the budget in the Provincial Committee of Alsace Lorraine, a Deputy, speaking for the Government, said, on March 15, that the spirit which the late elections had shown, induced the Government to resort to measures to protect the province from illegal agitation. The Government was convinced that the time had arrived when it was necessary to adopt measures more severe than it had wished to adopt to weld the province in closer cohesion with the rest of Germany.

Great preparations are making for the celebration of the ninetieth birthday of the Emperor of Germany on March 22. The King and Queen of Saxony, the Crown Prince of Würtemberg, the Princes of the Houses of Baden and Hohenzollern, Prince Louis of Bavaria, and the Dukes of Saxe-Coburg and Saxe-Meiningen are going to Berlin to take part in the festivities. It is reported that eighty members of royal families will be present on that occasion. The Prince of Wales is expected on the 20th and will remain a week. The Crown Prince of Denmark and the Crown Prince of Sweden and Norway are also expected. Prince von Hohenlohe, Governor of Alsace-Lorraine, has ordered a grand celebration of the day, the festivities to include military reviews and other pageants. The Czar will send the Grand Duke Vladimir and the Grand Duke Michael, with a large suite, to Berlin; and Nizami Pasha will represent the Sultan of Turkey.

Paragraph 1 of the Septennate Army Bill, which passed its final reading by a vote of 227 to 31 (84 members not voting) in the Reichstag on March 11, fixes the peace effective force of the German Empire from April 1, 1887, to March 31, 1894, at 468,400 men, exclusive of one-year volunteers. Paragraph 2 fixes the infantry at 534 battalions, the cavalry at 465 squadrons, the field artillery at 364 batteries, the foot artillery at 31 battalions, the pioneers at 19 battalions, and the trainmen at 18 battalions.

The passage of the Septennate Bill in the German Reichstag and the quiet that followed the insurrection in Bulgaria gave a peaceful tone to European news for a week. But it is now reported that 10,000 men are engaged night and day in fortifying Cracow. Austria has made great though late preparations for war, and Germany is prepared to start a campaign on a day's notice. The army contracts are signed, the officers have sealed marching orders, and the expectation of war is yet general in both Austria and Germany.

The fourth son of Prince William, son of the Crown Prince of Germany, was baptized at Potsdam on March 12. The Emperor was present and held the infant at the font during the baptism.

M. de Lesseps has made a visit to Berlin, which it has been suspected and denied was of political significance. On March 9 he was the guest of Emperor William at supper, and both the Emperor and the Empress bestowed upon him marked attentions. His effort to secure the neutrality of the Suez Canal is reported to have been amicably but evasively received by Prince Bismarck.

Russian admirers of the French Gen. Boulanger have presented to him a valuable sword.

By an accidental explosion of mélinite, a new explosive, in the French Arsenal at Belfort on March 10, six men were killed and eleven injured.

An important incident of political discussion in Great Britain was a speech by Mr. Joseph Chamberlain on March 9, in which, speaking for the Liberal-Unionists, he declared that groundless hopes had been raised among the Gladstonian Liberals, who were mistaken in throwing up their hats before they were out of the woods, and that the difficulties in the way of a union of all factions of the Liberal party were greater than ever. The Liberal-Unionists, he said, would never surrender an inch of their demand that the Imperial Parliament should retain its supremacy with members from every section of the United Kingdom within its walls. The central authority at Dublin must be subordinate to Parliament and not coördinate. They would never consent to surrender the Irish Protestant counties to the control of a Dublin Parliament against the will of the citizens of those counties. He congratulated the Liberal-Unionists on the fact that they remained in fighting trim.

Mr. Gladstone on March 10 gave notice to the Liberal party that he himself would lead the opposition to the Coercion Bill in Parliament.

Mr. Gladstone, replying to the request of a number of his adherents for information as to the concessions offered to the Unionists, has said that the Liberals may rely upon his firm adherence to the principles and bases of his home-rule policy. The Radical Unionists attribute the failure of the conference negotiations to Mr. Gladstone's decision to abide by Mr. Parnell's demands. Since the breaking off of negotiations with the Gladstonian Liberals, the demands of the Unionists have grown. As formulated they comprise the following essentials: That Ireland be represented in the Imperial Parliament; that Ulster be separated from the jurisdiction of the Dublin Parliament; that the Irish Parliament be subordinate to and not coördinate with the imperial body; that the subordinate powers of the Irish Parliament be strictly defined and limited; that the maintenance of law and order remain under the control of the imperial authority; that Mr. Gladstone's financial proposals be abandoned; that his proposition that the Irish Parliament be composed of two orders be abandoned, and that British credit be not pledged for the benefit of Irish landlords. The Parnellites and Gladstonians scout these demands as unworthy of consideration.

A sensation was caused in British politics by the publication of Gen. Sir Redvers Buller's evidence before the Irish Land Commission. The drift of his testimony was that it would be a serious matter, with their grievances unredressed, to attempt to suppress by force the tenants' right openly to associate for the protection of their interests. This testimony was so reported as to take much of its force away, and it was said that the important part of it was suppressed. That any part of it was suppressed was promptly denied, but that this testimony was embarrassing to the Government has not been denied. On nearly every one of the thousand pages of the blue book is evidence favorable to a suspension of evictions and to Gen. Buller's plan of legal machinery between tenant and landlord. The testimony for coercion occupies about one twentieth of the space, the remaining being for legislation.

The Prince of Wales presided on March 11 at the annual meeting of the Royal Thames Yacht Club. The money for the 1,000-guinea jubilee prize has already been subscribed, and the 14th of June has been fixed as the date for starting the race. The course laid out is from the Nore northward up the east coast of England, around Scotland and Ireland to Dover.

The cataract in Sir Michael Hicks-Beach's eye is becoming more dense, but his health is better.

A foreman and a draughtsman at the British navy-yard at Chatham have been discharged for revealing secret naval designs to Russian agents.

At the Papal Consistory on March 14 the Pope announced that Monsignor di Rende, Papal Nuncio at Paris; Rampolla del Tindaro, Nuncio at Madrid; Vannutelli, Nuncio at Vienna; Masela, ex-Nuncio at Lisbon; and Bishop Gordani of Ferrara, had been created Cardinals. He also announced the appointment of eight Italian, two Spanish, one Portuguese, and three East Indian Bishops.

The Pope has asked Cardinal Manning for his opinion on capital and labor, and will await a reply before writing his encyclical. Cardinal Gibbons, who is now in Rome, has been reported as saying that there would be no conflict in the United States between the Catholic Church and the Knights of Labor.

An earthquake shock was felt on March 11 throughout the region of the late disturbance. At Mentone it was the most violent since that of February 23. The walls of many houses were again cracked, and mirrors and glassware were broken. Visitors hurried away, and residents camped out in the open air. At Monte Carlo the shock caused a panic in the gambling rooms. The vibration was felt sharply in Marseilles, where for a time there was a panic. The hotels and the Bourse were emptied in a very few seconds. The walls of many buildings were cracked.

Mr. Walker Fearn, United States Consul-General to Greece, on March 14 opened the new building erected by the American Society at Athens for the study of classical archæology. Mr. Fearn and the principal of the Society thanked the Government for the gift of the site.

The Stanley expedition for the relief of Emin Bey arrived at Cape Town on March 10, and proceeded to the Congo River. The men composing the expedition were reported to be in fine condition.

News has been received at Zanzibar from Emin Bay. In November he went to Uganda, but permission was refused him to go through the country. Advices from Uganda, dated January 24, say that Dr. Junker's caravan reached Emin Bey safely, and that he was well.

The members of the House of Commons of the Canadian Parliament recently elected are divided as follows: Ministerialists 112, Opposition 95, with 8 members from disputed districts not reckoned.

The Canadian Government has forwarded a proposition to the Colonial Office in London concerning the fisheries dispute with the United States, wherein it is suggested that Great Britain should at once propose to the United States the settlement of all questions without reserve by the appointment of a commission to consist as follows: One delegate to be named by the Governor and Council of Canada, one from Newfoundland, by and with the consent of Great Britain; two from the United States, and one from some independent European Power. With such a Commission, it is said, all questions could be satisfactorily adjusted. It is understood that Germany is the Power which Canada would prefer as referee.

The Canadian protective fleet in the fishing waters this year will be larger than that of last year, and "the Yankee smack that succeeds in trespassing within the three-mile limit without molestation," Sir John McDonald is quoted as saying, "will have to be commanded by an uncommonly cunning old sea dog."

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THE STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA VS. THE ANTHRACITE COAL COMPANIES.

TOWARD the end of last summer the Governor of Pennsylvania let it be known that he had discovered a corrupt agreement between the companies engaged in carrying anthracite coal, and that he had determined to exert the whole power of the State to break it up. As every one who read the newspapers knew that the "coal pool" had been in existence for nearly two years, and as there seemed to be no reason for supposing that there was any more corruption in it than in other pools, the public listened to this announcement with chilling indifference. It was suggested that the Governor's action was caused by the approach of the fall election, and the feeling that something ought to be done to rescue his Administration from impending oblivion. He had been elected as a reform Governor, but he had instituted no reforms, and his course from the beginning had been a disappointing one.

Such suggestions as these called forth vigorous protestations of good faith from Gov. Pattison; but the report of the proceedings in the suit that he caused to be instituted against the coal companies precludes belief in these protestations. A more humiliating failure on the part of a plaintiff is inconceivable. To be sure, the suit was begun too near election time to advance very far before a change of administration occurred, but the witnesses called by the State heaped up such a mass of evidence against it that no subsequent proceedings could make much difference with the result. That must be a weak case for the plaintiff in which he relies upon the defendant for his evidence; but, with one exception, all the witnesses called by the Attorney-General were officers or agents of the defendant companies. That exception was in the case of an officer of the State Bureau of Industrial Statistics, and his testimony was more damaging to the case of the State than was that of the defendants themselves. The State had charged that the companies had restricted production during the year 1885. The Attorney-General succeeded in establishing out of the mouth of his own witness that this charge was false, and that, in fact, the production of that year had increased by 6,000,000 tons. The palpable absurdity of these figures would have discredited the defendants' case had they introduced them; when brought out by the plaintiff they turned the whole proceeding into a farce.

That the way of the demagogue is hard was curiously illustrated by another circumstance that appeared upon this investigation. The miners are now generally paid upon a "sliding scale"—their wages rising with the price of coal—and their pay constitutes from five-sixths to six-sevenths of the cost of production. If, then, the companies had succeeded in raising the price of coal, they would have conferred a benefit upon "labor." In some communities it might be urged that the interests of the great mass of laborers who consume coal were of more consequence than those of the small number who produce it. But this argument has always been regarded as fallacious in Pennsylvania, and is, moreover, hostile to the "labor" policy. Gov. Pattison, therefore, found himself in the awkward position of denouncing the employers of about 100,000 laborers, most of them voters, and Democratic voters at that, for adopting a policy that would raise their wages and lessen their hours of work.

For these reasons the attack upon the coal companies must be pronounced a failure; but the testimony taken in the suit is in some respects of real value. It illustrates several important economic laws. The production of anthracite coal is substantially a monopoly. This is not so much due to an agreement among producers as to an agreement among the carriers, who are much fewer in number than the producers, and upon whom the producers are dependent. Monopolies have an odious name; but it is often the case that their interests are the same as those of the public. It may be questioned whether the great coal companies have in the past been governed by this principle, but the circumstances of the present time have compelled them to act in accordance with it. They have been ground between the upper millstone of the competition of the producers of bituminous coal and the nether millstone of the unions of miners, with the result that they have to treat all parties fairly. In fact, it seems to be their stockholders, and not the public, who have now most cause to complain.

Thus it appears that in the case of the Lehigh Coal and Navigation Company the price of coal was lower in 1886—under the alleged corrupt combination—than in any year since the war, and lower than the average of any previous year except 1879. This price, moreover, was very little above the cost of production, nearer to it, in fact, than in 1879, on account of the advance in wages. The profit made by this company, whose coals are exceptionally valuable, was in 1886 only 15 cents a ton, without allowing for royalties, interest, or depreciation of improvements. As the surface seams of coal are exhausted, it becomes necessary to use expensive hoisting machinery, and the cost of keeping the collieries free from water steadily increases. As the coal is taken out more thoroughly, more timber is used, and the price of timber has itself advanced. Greater care also has to be taken in preparing coal for market, for people have grown fastidious.

The fluctuations in price that regularly take place during the year, and the variations in the amounts produced from month to month, are not so arbitrary as the public suppose. They are caused by a very simple physical fact—the bulky character of the commodity compared with its value. The expense of storing coal is so great where land is valuable that large consumers prefer not to buy it until they need it. Furthermore, the expense per ton of rehandling it when it is stored by the companies is more than the average profit. The cheapest place for storing coal is the mine. The economical management of the business, therefore, requires that when the coal is once moved, it should be kept steadily in motion until it reaches the consumer. Hence it becomes necessary not only to reduce production when the demand is slack, but to lower the price at the same time. Were this not done, the cost of production would be greater and the average price higher, while the miners would be idle for months at a time. Were the production to be the same in every month, the companies would at one time be overloaded with their own products, for they have not storage room for more than a million tons, while at another they could not supply the demand. Formerly, when there was no "pool," the fluctuations of price were much more violent, the periods when the miners were idle were much longer, and the expense of doing the business was much greater.

Upon the whole, it seems that the "coal pool" has been the result of an economic necessity, and produces an economic gain. The companies were charged with entering into a conspiracy to restrict the production of coal, to raise its price, and to lower the wages of miners. The evidence so far brought forward in support of these charges shows that, whatever the purpose of the "conspiracy" may have been, it has been attended with an increase of production, a reduction of profit to the producers, a reduction of price to the consumers, and an increase of wages to the miners. There is no reason to suppose that this state of affairs will be bettered by the interference of the State.

MONEY AND POLITICAL MACHINES.

MR. WILLIAM M. IVINS has published in the *Evening Post* two more papers, in which he follows up the growth of the evils so forcibly pointed out in his paper before the Commonwealth Club, and indicates the remedy for them. His new revelations, while not so startling as those in the first paper, are scarcely less interesting. Mr. Ivins shows that we owe the demoralizing practice of heavy assessments to the fertile political genius of John Kelly. Nothing affords stronger evidence of the merits of the invention, from a political point of view, than the broad general results which it accomplished within the short period of a dozen years. The grand total of "assessments" was run up from a few thousand dollars in 1872 to nearly a quarter of a million in 1884. Three political Machines were built up, controlling on election day an aggregate force of 45,000 men, equal to one-fifth of the entire voting population, all of whom were under pay and who had a pecuniary interest in the outcome of the election. The total amount of money distributed among these 45,000 on election day was over $700,000. They had at stake in the election at least $1,000,000 more in salaries, which their leaders hoped to get from the city for themselves and as many of their followers as could be quartered upon the city's pay rolls. Looking at John Kelly's mission in politics, in its proper light, that of obtaining the largest possible amount of spoils, no man can view these results and deny that he was a great leader. He reduced politics to such a perfect system that, when his power was at its height, he made the government of this city literally a matter of bargain and sale. He quarrelled with Governor Cleveland because the latter would not take this view of public office, and he quarrelled with every Mayor who made like objection. He had Tammany Hall organized into as subservient an army of mer-

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cenaries as ever existed, and we had an example of what he was able to do with them when, in 1884, he threw almost their solid vote against the Presidential candidate of his party, whom he had repeatedly pledged himself to support. He literally sold his whole Machine vote to the Blaine managers in return for Republican votes for his candidate for Mayor, and nobody can examine the figures of the returns and not be convinced that the bargain was kept by both sides. The failure to deliver quite enough to insure success in the election undoubtedly had much to do with hastening Kelly's death. He had made a final and remarkable demonstration of the perfection of his system, but he had failed in a stake for life or death.

That bargain of 1884 was only an instance on a large scale of what goes on in every municipal election, and what must, from the nature of the case, go on in every election so long as the present machinery is continued. Mr. Ivins shows with great clearness why this must be so The State has neglected to supply the needed machinery of elections beyond the mere recording, receiving, and counting of the vote. Gradually there have been built up to supply this deficiency three political organizations, composed of men who have taken up this as the most profitable business lying open to them. They have gone into it from no motives of public duty or patriotism, but simply to get a living The more extravagant and corrupt politics can be made, the better living will they get. They cannot be blamed for this. They have taken up a business which nobody else would touch. They are able to take it up solely because the respectable people have been too indifferent to do it for themselves, and too careless of the public good to provide for its doing by the State. The wonder is not that the Machines are so corrupt and unscrupulous, but that they do any good at all. They do put fit men into office occasionally, though if they were always to combine in favor of bad men, they could win in spite of all obstacles.

There are encouraging signs that the people of this city are waking up to the disgrace of allowing such a state of affairs to continue. We put a tax upon nominations for office which excludes all but rich men from getting into high positions, and we put a premium upon political dishoncsty and trickery by throwing all the machinery of elections and all the money for its operation into the hands of the worst elements of our population. We do not mean to say by this that there are no honest men in the Machines. There are many there, but the majority in all Machines is composed of men who have gone into politics because they had no other business, and were unfit for any other. We can never hope to reform this by starting a Machine composed entirely of honest men, simply because the honest men will not do the work. It is useless to talk more about reforming the Machines by infusing into them a larger proportion of what is known as the "better element." That has been tried over and over again, but has always failed and failed ludicrously. Then, too, even if we could reform the Machines, what right have we to put a tax upon candidates which is so heavy that it excludes poor men and even men of moderate means from public office? The State pays for the registration and reception of the ballot, and on precisely the same principle it should pay for its printing and distribution. Instead of this being, as some persons curiously claim, contrary to the spirit of our institutions, it is in perfect accord with it, for it is the only way by which we can be supplied with a free and untrammelled exercise of the right of suffrage.

Mr. Ivins shows, in the ingenious parallel at the close of his second paper, how completely the evils which we are suffering under Machine control can be eliminated by the adoption of the remedy which is embodied in the English law. In his third and concluding paper he sets forth elaborately and clearly the provisions of this law, whose working in the elections of 1886 can now be studied in a very exhaustive report which has recently been laid before Parliament. This report gives for the first time a detailed statement both of the expenses of the candidates under the heads into which the law divides their outlay, and of the charges made to the candidates by the returning officers The most significant fact disclosed is, that the grand total of expenditures by candidates is only a little more than one-half of the grand total allowed by the law. Omitting the universities, there were in the election 794 candidates in 460 English constituencies. The maximum scale allowed under the Corrupt Practices Act for all these constituencies was £667,400. The actual outlay on items allowed by the law was only £364,811. In Wales the maximum was £43,675, and the actual outlay was only £18,838. About one-fourth of the elections in England and Wales were uncontested, and the expense of most of these was very small. But had they all been contested at the average cost of the other three-fourths, the maximum would still not have been reached by more than £200,000.

Commenting upon these figures, the London *Daily News* says: "The first thing which they prove is the complete success of Sir Henry James's act. The chief feature of that act was that it laid down a maximum expenditure, to exceed which would be a corrupt practice, voiding the seat. The experts said that the maximum was placed too low—the experience of the last election demonstrates that, as usual, the experts were wrong, and that on the contrary the maximum is too high. It would be possible to reduce by at least one-fourth the sums allowed by law without in any way starving the elections. There are very few cases in which the maximum was reached."

This is a remarkable showing. Within the short space of four years, and after two elections, it has been demonstrated by actual figures that the extravagant and corrupt use of money in elections can be completely abolished by the simple process of forbidding it by law. As extravagant expenditure constantly bred greater extravagance, so on the other hand does honest expenditure breed economy, for if one candidate does not bribe and corrupt, his rival has no need to. Neither do we find in the English comments on the results achieved any intimation that there is a falling off in the popular interest in the elections. The voters go to the polls with as much eagerness as they did when they were paid for their votes.

"PULLS."

No effect of the spoils system is so striking as the way it distorts people's notions about the relations of the Government to the people. A most curious illustration of this is the apparent novelty of Mr. Cleveland's saying that "public office is a public trust." When one thinks over it a little, this seems so obvious a truth as to wear somewhat the air of a platitude. Nevertheless, when first produced it startled people a good deal, and for some months took rank as a discovery in political science. Indeed, it is still repeated in the newspapers frequently as a valuable addition to the literature of trusts. The reason of this was, that although the doctrine of trust in government had never died out in moral philosophy, or in school and college text-books, it had assumed in American politics the character of what theologians call a "pious opinion"—that is, an opinion which may or may not be true, and which it does one's soul good to entertain, but by which nobody is bound to regulate his conduct. It was open to any good American to look on an office simply as a great responsibility imposed on him solely for the benefit of his countrymen, but at the same time any one who took this view was held by politicians to be a man as unfit for office as one who felt himself bound to give his coat to anybody who had taken his cloak, would be for the dry-goods business. Two-thirds of the work of civil-service reformers has, in fact, consisted in contending with the notion that offices are not private property, and that a man who acknowledges that the public has any interest in them is not an amiable visionary.

Fifty years of the spoils system have had a somewhat similar effect on the political mind about the exercise of the appointing power. The common-sense and ordinary business view of the appointing power is, that anybody who is invested with it is bound to keep in office all persons whom he believes, on due inquiry, to be discharging the duties of their respective places efficiently, and is bound to search diligently for persons qualified, in his own judgment, to fill vacancies. Nine out of ten Mayors and Governors, however, have wholly lost this early human notion of political duty. When they find themselves charged with the duty of filling vacancies, they are very apt to look on themselves simply as the custodians of lost articles, bound to deliver them to all who can identify them, or as officers charged with the distribution of prize money or of an indemnity fund. That is to say, instead of going to work to find proper persons to fill the places, they sit down and wait for "pulls." "Pulls" are among the most curious and interesting products of the spoils system. A "pull" is an occult force by which a public officer is compelled to do something which his judgment condemns, and for which he himself sees no

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good reason—such, for instance, as putting in an important place somebody of whom he knows nothing, or whom he knows to be a great rascal. It is only in politics that "a pull" is ever pleaded as an excuse for doing a shameful or absurd thing. A respectable man who excused himself for the neglect or violation of any private duty by saying that he did it in obedience to "a pull," would be considered insane or a humbug. But if he says that "a pull" has made him in some manner betray the public interest, we are all disposed to go about saying, "You know, poor fellow, he could not help himself. He hated to do it, but so-and-so had a 'pull' on him, and he could not stand up against it."

The performance of Gov. Lounsbury, described in another column, in refusing to re appoint Prof. Hadley, is an almost comic example of the way in which a "pull" works. The Governor found an excellent officer in charge of the Labor Bureau of that State. The chief business of the Commissioner is the collection and arrangement of statistics touching the condition of laborers. Prof. Hadley had remarkable training for the work, was, in fact, a man such as any government is lucky in securing for such work, and, moreover, had during one term given ample proof of his fitness for it. One would expect that, under these circumstances, the Governor of a highly civilized State would at once satisfy himself that it was his duty to reappoint him. But Gov. Lounsbury did nothing of the kind. He knew the vacancy was coming, but he made no preparation to fill it. He simply sat down and waited for "pulls." They soon began to be felt. There were "pulls" from manufacturers, and "pulls" from labor organizations, and "pulls" from "callers," *against* Hadley. He supposed of course there would be pulls *for* Hadley also, and that Hadley himself must have been running about the State starting "pulls" in his own interest. But to his surprise he felt no Hadley "pulls" at all—none came from any quarter. Even Hadley said nothing in his own favor. Accordingly, says the Governor, with delightful simplicity, "in view of all these facts I decided that I should not be justified in making a reappointment." About the manner in which Hadley had done his work, or about the nature of the work to be done, not one word does he say. His explanation is all about "pulls." It is evidently inconceivable to him that anybody should expect him to reappoint a man who had no "pulls." All he says for Hadley's successor, Mr. Hotchkiss, is that he knows "the men who have endorsed him would not endorse him unless he were worthy of endorsement"; or, in other words, that his "pulls" are strong.

A STUDY IN "POLITICS."

A COMMITTEE of the Legislature of Indiana was lately appointed to investigate the condition of one of the State prisons known as the "State Prison South." It has made its report, which ought to be in the hands of everybody who still believes that public offices should be used for the reward of party service, and that any sort of politician is good enough to take charge of criminals and paupers.

The Committee found, to begin with, that the books of the prison were falsified and entries omitted, under the direct orders of the Warden; but they nevertheless discovered, without much difficulty, a deficit of $20,000. What became of the money they were unable to say, because the Warden refused to show his check-book. The Warden himself, A. J. Howard, is a most interesting person. Of course he is a good Democrat. The State being Democratic, the State prison had, of course, to be managed by Democrats, on the Jeffersonian plan. It does not clearly appear through what influences he got his place in the first instance, but the Committee found reason to believe that he used money on the directors, both when he was first elected, and when he was reëlected two years ago. The main argument in his favor which could be produced was the very familiar one, that "Jack Howard was honest and big-hearted," and always stood by his friends, and "never was known to break his word." When he was reëlected two years ago, the directors not only forebore to overhaul Jack's accounts, but reported the prison as being in beautiful order, and did not require him to renew his bond. So he went to work to steal and misappropriate with renewed vigor.

Jack Howard, like our late friend John Kelly, has a newspaper, called the Jeffersonville *Evening Times*, in which doubtless he denounces, or used to denounce, Cleveland and "snivel-service reform," and urge upon the President the duty of "turning the rascals out." Kelly used to make the liquor-dealers subscribe to his paper, in order to procure licenses. But Jack Howard was a more enterprising man than even Kelly, for he made the convicts subscribe to his paper, charging them on his books $4.50 per annum out of the money they earned. Those who were "hard up" were allowed to subscribe by the month, and the librarian, a convict named Martin, acted as canvasser for the journal among his brother criminals. Jack used also to borrow money from the convicts—that is, appropriate their earnings, and money sent them by their friends and on account of pensions. Sometimes, when a convict's term expired and he had to be paid what was due, Jack would be terribly embarrassed, and used to have to borrow from his subordinate officers and other "big-hearted" friends. He had other resources, too. He used to appropriate to his own use flour belonging to the prison, and "garden truck and vegetables" raised by convict labor on ground belonging to the State, and used to convert raw material belonging to the State also. Jack never advertised for bids for his jail supplies. He bought them from his friends, one of whom, a Louisville butcher, supplied "quarters and shanks" to the jail, "the choice portions going to other parties"—of course, on prison account. Besides this, Jack used to supply pork from a pork house owned by himself and his brother. He used also to inflict cruel and unusual punishments. Two men died from punishment while under his charge. The body of one was cut up and burnt in the furnace. The body of the other was disposed of without a proper inquest.

The account given by the Committee of the filth of the prison is too disgusting to be laid before any community which is not responsible for Jack or his doings. With regard to the Prison Directors who appointed him, and who regularly reported that he was behaving in an exemplary manner, the Committee find them guilty of "gross if not wilful neglect of duty," and recommend that "their immediate resignation be requested." They also declare that, as usual, Jack Howard had a ring who worked with him inside the prison. It consisted of the Deputy-Warden, the Steward, and the Clerk, each of whom had his own special share of the spoil.

The oddest figure in the affair, who would also be a droll figure, too, if anything or anybody could be droll in such a sink of iniquity, is the chaplain, a certain L. F. Cain. The Committee call him "the Chaplain," but in his examination the wretched wag called himself "the Moral Instructor." He "worked" his official position, as politicians would say, or, as the Committee say, "prostituted it," by "securing the confidence of the convicts and obtaining money from them for the alleged purpose of securing pardons for them." While he was in the prison he apparently got tired of giving "moral instruction," and determined to study medicine. Being intrusted officially with the purchase of books for the library out of a fund formed by an admission fee paid by visitors to the prison, he bought medical books exclusively, and charged them to the prison at nearly double the cost price. He was a man of very large views, in fact, and fit for something better than a retail business; for, according to one witness,

> "At one time he called the lifetime men together, and told them if they would donate him so much money—some considerable amount, I do not remember just now—that he would go before the Legislature and he would procure the passage of a bill making fifteen years a lifetime sentence; and they gave him the money, and he went to Indianapolis, and when he came back he laughed and said, if they didn't get their bill through he would get his bill through to raise his salary from $800 to $1,400."

We may add, in conclusion, that the maximum number of times in which Jack Howard was, by the evidence, seen drunk in the jail was fifty. McFadden, the hospital steward, used to get more drunk than the Warden, but apparently not so often, and the guards did a fair retail whiskey business with the convicts.

We cordially commend the report to the perusal of such of our readers as are interested either in the spoils system or in prison discipline. But we would caution those who may feel disposed to reproach the decent people of Indiana for allowing such horrors to exist so long in a State institution, not to roll their eyes over them too much. For they must not forget that a Warden has been appointed to the principal prison in this city whose character and career offer far fewer guarantees of efficiency and integrity than Jack Howard's did when he got his place. We are displaying to-day to all the young criminals in the city the spectacle of an old and life-long member of the criminal class, known as "Fatty" Walsh, at the head of a great penal establishment. We are denouncing the liquor-dealers as the foes of decency, and order, and morality, and moving heaven and earth to get a bill passed reducing their number and restraining what we consider their infernal

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activity, and yet we have submitted without a murmur to the appointment of an old liquor-dealer and gambler to take charge of the murderers and thieves and rioters whom his trade has created or fostered.

HENRY WARD BEECHER.

THE death of Mr. Beecher leaves in the United States no man of such unique and striking personality as his, no man of such rich and strange experience, no man whose part in the anti-slavery conflict was comparable with his own. His face and form and motion were as individual as his mind. For those who knew him well they seemed its inevitable expression.

> "His eloquent blood
> Spoke in his cheeks, and so distinctly wrought
> That you might almost say his body thought."

His humor twinkled in his eye. One had but to see his mouth to know his nature's tenderness; and equally his enjoyment of all things purely sensuous—all lovely colors, all beauteous forms, and all delightful sounds. The physical volume of the man was necessary to his intellectual energy and to his stormy eloquence. His impassioned outbursts would have been ridiculous in a man of slighter mould. His appearance during the last years of his life, if it did not gain in fineness, acquired greater impressiveness from his ruddy face and flowing silver hair. A stranger could not meet him on the street without knowing him to be no ordinary man; without wondering if he were not quite extraordinary.

He was one of many children in the house of his parents. So far as we can trace his qualities to his immediate progenitors, his mother seems to have done much more for him than his father. His love of nature and of all beautiful objects and his glowing piety were distinctly her impression. Of beauty as a means of grace Lyman Beecher had a very poor opinion. "It is all moonshine," he said, "with no doctrine, nor edification, nor sanctity in it, and I despise it." But the mother died when he was three or four years old, and her immediate successor was of such strict and ghastly manners in religion, and the father spared the rod so little, that the wonder is that religion and morality were not equally distasteful to the boy's maturer mind. Mrs. Stowe has written that as a child not a single toy was ever given to him, nor any little fête. And yet, because he was a boy and had good health and knew where sweetflag grew, and where the sassafras and chestnuts and the hickories were to be found, he was not by any means unhappy. Doubtless it was by force of contrast with the grim and loveless circumstances of his youth that beauty had for his manhood a keener zest, and love a more insatiable charm.

Father Taylor objected to Channing that he had not had a liberal education. His meaning was that the latter had only been to college—that he had none of his own rough-and-tumble sort of life. Doubtless the Boston Latin School and Amherst College did much for Mr. Beecher, though in neither was he devoted to the curriculum; but what made his education liberal was a habit early formed of eager observation—a passion for good books, not mainly theological—the homely life of rising Western towns—the necessity for making his strength self-serviceable in many ways—the political and theological circumstances of his early manhood. "A course of mobs," said Emerson, "made Phillips the best stump-speaker in America." Mr. Beecher's experience of one mob in Cincinnati—that which destroyed the press of James G. Birney—was a distinguished factor in his anti-slavery education; but for his lessons in the art of public speech his main reliance was on the rudeness of his congregations at Lawrenceburg and Indianapolis, the necessity of making himself apprehensible to them by speaking in the vernacular and with the aid of abundant illustrations. There was a time when the attractions of the ministry for him were less than those of journalism, at which he made some trial in 1836 as temporary editor of the Cincinnati *Journal*. The Birney outrage happened during his brief incumbency, and his first anti-slavery work was done in the way of vigorous denunciation of that miserable affair. That he had already attained to some strength of fibre, to some capacity for individual thought and purpose, is witnessed by his conduct here and by his rejection of the theological system which his father, with "logic afire," was at that time doing noisy battle for against the "Scotch-Irish-Presbyterian-Calvinistic fatalism" rampant in the region roundabout.

The time spent at Lawrenceburg and Indianapolis, ten years in all, may be regarded as a time of preparation for the succeeding forty years of Brooklyn life and work. That was the ante-room in which he tuned his instrument before he came upon the stage. It is true that his 'Lectures to Young Men' date from this early period, and they still have a steady circulation. They were important, too, as bringing him the recognition which resulted in his call to Brooklyn. But they were essentially 'prentice work. On his arrival in Brooklyn he had already done something in the line of book-making, lecturing, and journalism—the three avocations that were to engross him more and more, but without taking anything from his preaching, the work which he rightly apprehended as his regular vocation, and to which he made all other things subordinate. His earliest connection with journalism was, as has been said, in Cincinnati, when, theologically, he was—

> "Wandering between two worlds, one dead,
> The other waiting to be born."

His next was with the *Western Farmer and Gardener*, the first non-political paper published in Indiana. The love of flowers and of all green things growing was native to his mind; but in connection with his editorial work in Indiana he entered on those horticultural and floricultural studies which became a passion in his later years, furnishing him with myriads of apt and striking illustrations for his talks and sermons, and making a seedsman's catalogue more fascinating and religious for him than a theological treatise. Of much more importance was his editorial connection with the *Independent*, and later with the *Christian Union*. The former was the principal vehicle of his anti-slavery opinions. His editorials were dashed off at the last moment, but the immediate haste was justified by ample preparation, not only from complete acquaintance with the current topics of the time, but also from a thorough knowledge, broadly but not finely accurate, of our political and constitutional history. The *Christian Union* was his most characteristic journalistic enterprise. His object was to make a journal like his church, in which persons of every sect might come together in a genial fellowship. With excellent coöperation, his success was great and admirable in accomplishing his object, together with a circulation reaching at one time to 130,000. It would be hard to overrate the diminution or obliteration of sectarian boundaries involved in such an enterprise as this.

The *Plymouth Pulpit* was another of his regular serial publications. From week to week it contained his sermons and his prayers. It went on for several years, and was an immense extension of his pulpit influence. His books, with two or three exceptions, were also reproductive in their character; they were made up of extracts from his sermons and selections from his articles. His 'Life-Thoughts,' the sermon-excerpts of a friend, succeeded by a similar volume which he much preferred, probably did more than any other agency to win for him the sympathy and admiration of the young people in America—the many thousands who, in normal schools and female seminaries, and humbler colleges and theological schools, were preparing to do the teaching and the preaching of a generation, and to shape its thought and feeling. His novel 'Norwood' showed him in no new light. There was nothing in it which was not in his sermons in a better form. His 'Life of Christ' is without any critical value, and its discontinuance is not a matter for regret. It was a brilliant paraphrase of the New Testament narration, in which Mr. Beecher spoke ten times from his emotion to once from his reason. That he did not sooner resolve to write his autobiography, and carry out his purpose, is a great pity.

Mr. Beecher's voluntary lecturing, as that part of his lecturing might be called which was not necessitated by the pressure of political events, was simply the more secular, social, political, or æsthetic side of his Brooklyn preaching seeking a wider audience. It gave fuller scope to his humor than his Sunday pulpit, and to his skill in repartee when there was any "talking back." On this he actually throve. What would have disconcerted Sumner, what would have left Phillips simply imperturbable, was exactly what he needed to bring him fairly to himself. He never did so well as when there was some violent and noisy opposition. No orator of the anti-slavery conflict had his control of adverse elements, or his power to rouse a sympathetic audience to its highest pitch of generous enthusiasm and heroic purpose. When, at the Broadway Tabernacle in 1860, he seized the chains John Brown had worn, and, making them a symbol of all slavery, dashed them to the floor and spurned them with his feet, those who were witnesses to that "jubilee of sublime emotion" were lifted to a seventh heaven of impassioned ardor for humanity.

Less emotional, but more intellectual, and, as a revelation of his personal force, alone in his experience, was the series of addresses made in Great Britain in the fall of 1863. In the reports of the speeches the questions asked, the cheers, the gibes, the laughter, occupy almost as much space as Mr. Beecher's words. If sometimes the result seemed doubtful, his pluck and humor and good-nature triumphed in the end. At Liverpool it took him an hour and a half to get control of the meeting; then, for an equal length of time, he had his way with it. The series of addresses, five in all, was a masterly vindication of the position and the purpose of the North. In each he treated a new aspect of the matter, making good Dr. Holmes's comment: "Mr. Beecher delivered a single speech in Great Britain. . . . Its exordium was uttered on the 9th of October in Manchester, and its peroration on the 20th of the same month in Exeter Hall." This "single speech" made Mr. Beecher for a time our most honored citizen. If in England it did less than has sometimes been reckoned to change the course of public sentiment, it did much, and it gave the sympathizers with the North their first good opportunity to show their strength and to enjoy a splendid vindication. For the speech was not more bright and humorous and audacious than it was just and strong and wise.

Mr. Beecher was not at any time an abolitionist in the technical sense of that term. His anti-slavery position was that of the Republicans, as such: freedom national; slavery sectional. But while legal interference with slavery stopped for him at the State boundary, for moral interference he accepted no such limitation. The vote rolled up for Frémont and for Lincoln had no individual aid superior to his. His brother Thomas once said of him that he had no more backbone

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than an eel. But it was a faulty analysis which charged him with lack of courage. In 1850, amid and in defiance of the pro-slavery violence stimulated by the compromises of that year, he opened his church to Wendell Phillips, overruling the trustees. In 1866 he took sides with President Johnson. Of the President's character and motives he had no rightful apprehension. His position was an expression of his abiding faith (in which he had great companions) that a policy of the largest clemency was the best policy of reconstruction. But the act which marked his utmost courage was his support of Cleveland in 1884. Often impulsive, he was here exceedingly deliberate. In 1876 he was resolved as clearly as in 1884 that if Blaine were nominated he would bolt the ticket. To oppose an impersonal crowd of hundreds or of millions does not require the courage necessary to oppose a dozen friends. For Mr. Beecher, liking to be liked and loving to be loved, fond of success and popularity, it must have been a fearful thing to array a score or two of his best friends against himself, and at the age of seventy-one to endanger, if not shatter, the congregation which was his joy and crown. Nevertheless, he did this thing, and waited the event. It was less damaging than his partisan Republican parishioners expected and desired.

It was, however, as a preacher, not as a writer, journalist, or orator, that Mr. Beecher was most proudly conscious of himself, and it is as a preacher that he must principally be considered in any general estimate of his influence and fame. He was the most remarkable preacher of his time, the most popular, the most influential. He preached to nearly or quite 5,000 once a week, and the art of printing multiplied this number many times. No preacher ever spoke more freely and frankly about his methods as a preacher than he did in his 'Yale Lectures' and elsewhere. His ideals were simply the reflection of his individual ways and means. He did not blunder into his success. He studied other preachers, but he studied still more carefully himself. He was very careful of his general health and of his immediate physical condition. On Sundays he was ascetic. On Saturdays he loafed on principle. On Sunday morning the chosen subject was magnetic to the multitude of data, read or observed, with which his mind was stored, and it pounced on its own wherever it found it. The sermon had little organic unity. Its parts were always better than the whole. These were what the people carried away—the telling passages, the striking sentences. He theorized that sermons should have dull and dreary passages to rest the audience, and as he theorized he preached. The illustrations and the bursts of eloquence made the main impression. His illustrations were innumerable. He was always on the watch for them in his walks about town and his rambles in the country, and later they came trooping to his call. To be appreciated, it was necessary that he should be heard; for he was a good actor, and, lacking his impersonation, the illustrations and the humor lack more than half their value. His whole body was at the service of his art. Sometimes there was no heart in his vehemence, but at other times it was so central that his whole frame trembled and shook with his emotion, and the very building seemed to rock beneath him as with an earthquake's throes.

"All men like poetry," said Emerson, and Beecher was essentially a poet. Few of all our major poets have said so many poetical things, so many beautifully tender and pathetic things. Then, too, he was well-nigh our greatest humorist, sometimes as broad as Dickens, sometimes as delicate as Charles Lamb, sometimes as gentle as Thackeray, or as satirical—and he could suit the action to the word. Here were two great attractions, but the greatest was his humanity and his sympathy with all things human. He was a man, and nothing human was foreign to him. His delight was with the sons of men. He had a great and overwhelming sense of the Divine Love, and he never tired of celebrating its incarnation in the life and character of Jesus Christ. He was very far from being orthodox, judged by any of the traditional or formulated creeds. His theological preaching varied with his moods, but it was habitually less sound than his deliberate doctrinal expressions. But even these at various points—election, human depravity, atonement, future punishment—were much at variance with the Westminster Confession, the God of which he denounced as "barbaric, heinous, hideous." The "salvation" of his preaching was Christian manhood: a clean body, a sound mind, a clear conscience, a good heart—not escape from any possible doom beyond the grave.

Already his influence upon theology and religion in America has been very great.

> "All can raise the flowers now,
> For all have got the seed."

But forty years ago the rigidness of dogma and the exclusiveness of sect were much more intolerable than they are now, and Mr. Beecher has done more than any one else to scatter and tend the seed from which a harvest of untheological religion has sprung up. What he has done he will go on doing—not by his printed words to any great degree, but through the mediation of hundreds of preachers and thousands of the laity who have been touched and quickened by his spirit. In all the nooks and corners of America, as well as in its populous cities, there are men and women who owe to him their escape from a religion of terror, and are grateful to him for a gospel full of hope and cheer.

Few men of his time had so much admiration as was granted him; few had such honor and success; and few were tried as he was in the furnace of adversity. If it is true that never after this did he have the weight, the influence, the authority in political and religious matters which he had before, it is equally true that the afterthought of many grew less and less adverse to him as the years went by. To many who hated him for political or theological reasons, "the great scandal" was a pretext for despising him for which they were not ungrateful. But many others (and a much greater number) have not and never had a doubt of his complete and perfect innocence of any serious fault; and all who have any adequate appreciation of his great career must feel that, whatever fault was his, it was inherent in a nature strong and sweet and sane, and that it cannot be permitted to outweigh his general devotion to all high and noble ends. "They say, best men are moulded out of faults"; and, if he was not moulded out of his, he was, in spite of them, a man most kind and lovable, of splendid gifts, of generous purpose, and of lasting service to mankind.

BRITISH POLITICS AND SOCIETY.

LONDON, March 5.

THE present Government is a Ministry of surprises. The resignation of Lord Randolph Churchill, the displacement and death of Lord Iddesleigh, and the entrance of Mr. Goschen into the Cabinet have been followed by the retirement of Sir Michael Hicks-Beach from the Chief Secretaryship for Ireland, and the appointment of Mr. Arthur Balfour in his place. The news is but a few hours old, and is still in the stage of discussion and speculative contradiction. There are journals and news agencies which prefer to be startlingly wrong rather than to be unobtrusively right, and they are trading in the public uncertainty and curiosity. But the news is true. Sir Michael Hicks-Beach suffers from an affection of the eyes, necessitating, it is said, an immediate operation. In almost any other office than that which he has held it would be possible for him to take a few weeks' leave of absence. But the Irish Secretary cannot "interpose a little ease" even for a few hours. Sir Michael Hicks-Beach is respected by every one. He is a good type of the English country gentleman in office—a man of business and a man of breeding. Officially hated by the Irish Nationalists, he is not personally disliked by them, as Mr. Forster always was and as Sir George Trevelyan came to be. In society and by those who have served with him and under him he is in the highest degree popular. The rumors which are already afloat that his ill health is political as well as natural, and that he differs from the policy on which the Government has decided, would best be answered by his remaining in the Cabinet in some unlaborious department, changing, perhaps, his seat in the Commons for a peerage. But before the present Ministry was formed Sir Michael used to talk not only of declining office, but of giving up public life altogether, and he may before a long time has elapsed act on that intention.

His successor, Mr. Arthur Balfour, who gives up the Secretaryship (not the Secretaryship of State) for Scotland for the Irish Secretaryship, is one of the ablest men in the Government and in the House of Commons. But it may be doubted whether he is by temperament fitted to deal with the Irish members. He is critical, fastidious, and, though personally amiable, not free from a certain intellectual sensitiveness which verges occasionally on irritability. The nephew of Lord Salisbury, there is a good deal of the Cecil disdainfulness about him. A less razor-edged instrument than his intelligence would probably do better the rough work of hewing Parliamentary blocks.

It would seem, after all, that something might possibly come of the Round Table Conference. Hitherto it has been regarded with a mixture of curiosity and scepticism, in which the scepticism has decidedly predominated, as if the five gentlemen seated at it were engaged in a sort of political table-turning, waiting until that piece of furniture tilts up, not without suspicion of a confederate leg, and proceeds to rap out a response. Perhaps, after all, in a sense different from Wordsworth's, there may be "a spirit in the wood." A letter of Sir George Trevelyan's to the Unionists of Aberdeen, and a speech delivered by him at a House dinner in the Devonshire Club, unreported and obviously distorted and discolored in detail by second-hand versions, but no doubt accurately represented in its general bearings, shows a hopeful and even confident temper. Though Mr. John Morley has declared that the principles, the policy, and the plan of Mr. Gladstone must be respected, there can be little doubt that the plan must go if the principle and the policy are to have legislative effect given to them. The scheme for governing Ireland, in imperial matters, by a Parliament elected exclusively by the constituencies of Great Britain, is absolutely incompatible with elementary constitutional doctrines. It would reproduce in substance the state of things from which Grattan's Parliament was a successful revolt, and would not differ much from the Grenville, Townshend, and North policy which led to the American Revolutionary war. The fact that, for the exigencies of the moment, the Irish members were consenting parties to the arrangement, could not make it lasting. No nation could consent to be permanently excluded from deliberation on those great matters of foreign and domestic policy the power

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of dealing with which distinguishes a nation from a province or a dependency. The problem of union or separation would present itself in the question, Shall Ireland have this sovereign power in association with England and Scotland, through its representatives in an Imperial Parliament or as a separate nation, accidentally ruled by the same monarch as England, just as England and Hanover were until, on the death of William IV., their differing laws of succession separated the two countries? The problem which is before the Round Table in the first instance, and which, if they solve it to their satisfaction, will come before Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Parnell in the second instance, is to make home rule compatible with and subject to the Parliamentary Union. The condition of business in the House of Commons, not now only but during many Parliaments, shows the need of an arrangement by which purely insular concerns, British and Irish, shall be referred to purely British and Irish assemblies, whether called legislative bodies, or national councils, or parliaments, while the common affairs of the United Kingdom, and these alone, shall be dealt with in a united Parliament, in which Great Britain and Ireland shall be equally represented. In the imperfectness of political nomenclature, the word Federal is that by which an arrangement of this kind can be least misleadingly described, though text writers, guiding themselves by precedents and definitions, may prove that federation, as in the United States, in Switzerland, in Germany, and in Austria-Hungary, is impossible in the United Kingdom. Very likely, but in the art of politics, as in the art of poetry, definitions must follow practice, instead of tying down practice to themselves. In the meantime, it must be observed that the Round Table Conference is conducted entirely by members of Mr. Gladstone's late Cabinet. Lord Herschell, Sir William Harcourt, and Mr. John Morley remained in it to the last. Mr. Chamberlain and Sir George Trevelyan seceded from it, objecting to the plan and not to the principle and the policy. Lord Hartington and the larger and more important section of Liberal Unionists who declined to admit the principle or entertain the policy, and who therefore refused to join Mr. Gladstone's Ministry, hold aloof from the conference. Lord Hartington and his followers still give their support to the Government, in which they are represented by Mr. Goschen; and the concessions which would satisfy Mr. Chamberlain and Sir George Trevelyan might leave the Hartingtonian Unionists unreconciled.

The social gatherings which accompany the Parliamentary session have commenced. Mrs. Peel's receptions follow the Speaker's Parliamentary dinners, which are ruled by an order as rigid as that which governs the debate, and one which is much better observed. These dinners are given on Wednesday, the only Parliamentary day on which an afternoon sitting is held. At the first dinner the Speaker entertains such of her Majesty's Ministers as have seats in the House of Commons; on the second, the members of the preceding Government. On the third, Privy Councillors and other members of former administrations who have not been included in the recent political arrangements of either party, are the Speaker's guests, and no doubt much candid conversation is heard with respect to men and measures. Then the rank and file of Parliament follow by batches until the whole is exhausted. Many members have been in the habit of refusing the Speaker's invitations. Old Cobbett did so more than half a century ago on the ground, stated by him in his letter of apology to the Speaker who then was, that he was not accustomed to the society of gentlemen. Mr. Cobden and Mr. Bright used to do so—the former until the day of his death, the latter until he took office—from an insurmountable reluctance to put on court dress. For Mr. Bright, when he became a Minister, a new uniform was invented of black velvet, to spare him the necessity of investing himself in the blue Windsor uniform with its epaulettes and sword. Very well he looks in his court suit. When M. Blowitz intruded himself into the prison of a celebrated French political offender, uninvited and for interviewing purposes, the victim described himself as struck by the approach of something which resembled *une boule surmontée par une orifice*. Mr. Bright, in his velvet attire, looks like a stately pin-cushion, surmounted by a singularly handsome and venerable countenance, and endowed with locomotive properties. The number of persons who entertain Mr. Cobden's objection to court dress is considerable in the present House of Commons, and for them the Speaker has arranged a supplementary banquet, not exclusively Parliamentary, for which evening dress suffices. There are still grumblers, for among working-class members the modern dress-coat and white tie are viewed as *bourgeois* symbols. The deference shown to the Speaker is probably unique in the attitude of popular representatives to their President. He is addressed in conversation as "Sir," a title otherwise given only to the King, when there is one, and to royal princes. There have, indeed, been two exceptions to this monopoly. The late Sir Robert Peel told Lord Stanhope, the historian, that when Mr. Grattan became a member of the British House of Commons, those Irish members of the United Parliament who had sat at Dublin with him, always addressed him as "Sir." Lord Castlereagh was among those who did so. A similar sign of deference is studiously observed by many of his younger colleagues and other members of his party to Mr. Gladstone. The unceremonious habits of English society, in which the use of the words "Sir," or "My Lord," or "Your Grace" are becoming obsolete, and are scarcely heard except from tradesmen, servants, and dependents, is rather an insular peculiarity, involving departure from the stately formality of a previous generation, as well as from existing European and, I presume, American usage.

Mrs. Peel's receptions are naturally of wider scope than the Speaker's dinners, not only as regards numbers, but as regards quality, and include all that is most notable in political society. In the suite of stately rooms of "the Speaker's house," from the walls of which the present Speaker's predecessors gaze down upon the assembled groups, no more dignified and urbane host, and no more graceful hostess, could discharge the duties which fall to Mr. and Mrs. Peel. The other principal places of political receptions are, for the Conservatives, Lady Salisbury's in Arlington Street, and Mrs. W. H. Smith's in Grosvenor Place; for the Liberals, Lady Granville's in Carlton House Terrace, Lady Spencer's at Spencer House, near St. James's Palace, and Lady Rosebery's in Lansdowne House, which has been let to the late Foreign Secretary during the absence of the present Governor-General of Canada. More places of reception are, for the Conservatives, Lady Stanhope's in Grosvenor Place and Lady Hayter's, the wife of Sir Arthur Hayter, a subordinate member of Mr. Gladstone's last Government, once an assistant whip of the party, and the son of a more celebrated whip. The palmy days of great houses and great hostesses are, however, over—the days when youthful Macaulays were introduced by brilliant Lady Hollands in historic palaces to ambassadors and earls. In their place is to be seen a staring crowd, looking about them, like a party of personally conducted tourists deserted by their conductor, obviously ill at ease as to their behavior, and uncertain as to what is expected from them.

The periodically renewed rumors of the conversion of the *Times* into a penny paper are again afloat. No doubt the intention will be denied until it is executed, and probably with truth, for when the purpose is definitely framed it will be promptly put into effect. The public will be innocent of the knowledge until it applauds or condemns the deed. Meantime the newspaper offices are perplexed with fears of a change which, if it takes place, must have momentous consequences. It will be fatal either to some of them or to the *Times* itself. Whether the *Times* at a penny would remain the *Times* is the question, and it must be either the *Times* or nothing. Under Mr. Buckle's editorship it has certainly recovered something of its old authority, and the decline in its circulation has been stopped and has even been turned the other way. Notwithstanding, there have been signs of weakness in Printing-house Square. It has condescended to recognize the man in the streets, and at the railway stations, and on the knife-board of the omnibus, by the issue of bills of contents after the manner of its penny rivals. These bills are scantily supplied, it is true, and they are hidden shamefacedly in obscure corners. Still they are there, if you look for them. The *Times* is apparently dabbling its foot timidly in the water until it can make up its mind for a plunge. The hesitation is excusable. The step it is supposed to be meditating means either suicide or a magic renewal of youth and strength. The quality and not the quantity of its circulation has of late years been its stronghold; and that has made it the medium through which public men of all parties express themselves when they have had anything to say by the press. Its law and Parliamentary reports make it essential to lawyers and politicians. To "write to the *Times*," and to "see a thing in the *Times*" are not mere survivals of speech: they express a belief in its unique character. Can it retain the features which have given it this pre-eminence for a penny? L. L.

THE REPORT OF LORD COWPER'S COMMISSION.

DUBLIN, February 28, 1887.

THE Royal Commission on the Irish Land Laws, presided over by Lord Cowper, has presented its report to Parliament. The only representative of the tenants on the Commission (a Conservative farmer from the County Armagh) dissents from the general report, and promises to present his own within a short time. The published report may therefore be looked upon as representing the landlords' view of the question; and, as such, it completely justifies the Plan of Campaign and the proposals made to Parliament last autumn by the National party.

The fall in prices during the last two, as compared with the preceding four, years is stated to be 18½ per cent. This, in conjunction with unfavorable seasons, has so impaired the farmers' ability to pay rent that an immediate revision of judicial rents is recommended. The Commission proposes the following changes in the law as regards rents: (1) The revision of rents every five years, instead of fifteen; the revision to be effected according to the general average of prices which have ruled during the five years preceding the revision, as compared with the average of prices for the five years before them. (2) The admission of leaseholders to the land courts to have fair rents fixed. (3) The admission of town-park occupiers, exclusive of those who hold less than five acres, of pasture farms up to £100 value,

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As to the first suggestion, nothing is said on the most important point of how the percentage of fall or rise in prices is to be applied to the increase or diminution of rent. The admission of the classes of tenants referred to in the second and third suggestions has been claimed by the Irish members as a matter of justice on every opportunity since the introduction of the Land Bill in 1881, and was refused peremptorily by both Liberal and Tory Governments. The proposal to regulate rents according to the average of prices for periods of five years would be impracticable. The principle is undesirable, and no clear suggestion is made as to how it is to be applied. The amount of produce of any farm depends on the capital employed as well as on the skill of the farmer and the seasons. The cost of labor is quite as important an element in determining the net profit as the prices realized. So is the amount of capital employed and the rate of interest to be allowed upon it. Cereal produce, meat of all kinds, and butter are imported from all parts of the world into Ireland, as well as exported from it. Prices are not, therefore, dependent on local conditions alone; the good prices in any quinquennial period would not be a guide to the rent that could be paid in a succeeding period of lean years. Where a payment is small in proportion to the value of the annual produce, as in the case of tithes, the money value may be made dependent on prices without much inconvenience; but where rent presses on the means of subsistence, as in many districts in Ireland, it cannot be so regulated. Instead of facilitating the collection of rent, such a method would encourage its being withheld, and would give rise to perpetual disputes and claims for the introduction of other elements into the calculation.

Rents in Ireland are now in theory perpetual in duration, though uncertain as to their amount. In France and Switzerland the creation and imposition of perpetual rents are forbidden by the Constitution or by fundamental laws; they are looked on as inconsistent with the true conditions of liberty and democracy. Rents in Ireland should be made redeemable, instead of trying to perpetuate them. The existence of a small rent-receiving class, retaining, attached to their rents, undefined powers of interference with the conditions of tenure, is not consistent with the economical and social health of an agricultural community.

As remedies for the evils of congested districts, which are defined as being those where the soil is poor and the population too dense to live upon its produce, the Commissioners recommend (1) technical education for children, (2) emigration, (3) migration of families to other parts of Ireland, (4) colonization. As to the details, how and at whose expense these things are to be done, nothing is said. It may be remarked incidentally that it is a mistake to suppose that the Irish Nationalists are opposed to emigration. What they have protested against is the schemes offered and enforced by the Imperial Parliament, which provided little more than the bare passage of the emigrants and often of very unfit classes, who, flung in shiploads on the shores of strange countries, with no further provision, were likely to be as badly off as if they had stayed at home. Irishmen have also claimed that a Government's first duty is to make the conditions of life at home—so far as laws can do so—such as to enable the population to live and thrive, instead of seeking to get rid of them by any and every means, which has been the English policy in Ireland from time immemorial. When the population of Ireland was under three millions, it was said to be overpopulated; the same is said now when the population has decreased by more than three millions in thirty years, and when four or five million pounds are paid away annually to absentee land-owners.

The other recommendations of the Royal Commission deal with the policy of enabling the tenants to purchase up the landlords' interests by State loans. They do not advise compulsory expropriation, or any change in the terms on which loans are made, but make a multitude of small proposals, with the object of enabling landlords to get rid of legal and technical difficulties and obstacles in the way of selling their estates. They omit, however, to make suggestions as to establishing any system of cheap and speedy transfer for the proprietary interests to be conferred on the tenant. This is an all-important matter; the law and practice of land transfer and with respect to the devolution of real estate in the United Kingdom are such that no system of small proprietorships of land could endure or be successful under it. Within the last thirteen years I have known it to take nine years from the institution of the proceedings to get the sale of an estate completed. The average time taken to sell an estate in the Land Judges' Court is officially stated to be two years. The costs of selling or buying real estate are enormous, and increase in inverse proportion to the size of the estate. The preparation of the deeds of transfer is only a small portion of the cost incurred in a sale; but I have known the purchaser of a small parcel of land to pay for his transfer deed five times as much as he paid for the land. It is a crime for any Government to confer the ownership of land upon peasants without at the same time making provision for its certain, cheap, and speedy transfer and devolution in future. In most of the British colonies land is transferred on the record-of-title system with certainty and cheapness. In many colonies professional assistance is unnecessary. In Switzerland land can be bought and sold by the yard at a trifling and known cost. It is the same in nearly all other civilized European countries; the only heavy expense being the duty charged by the State on transfers.

The omission of any mention of this matter from the report of Lord Cowper's Commission evidences its incompetence and the incompleteness of its inquiry. The Nationalist party gave no evidence; the witnesses were almost altogether landlords, agents, and officials. Nothing was, however, expected to come of the Commission's inquiry; the enlargement of the rent provisions of the Land Law to include the classes excepted at present will probably be the only useful result, for such a change introduced by the Conservatives would meet opposition from no other party. The neglect, however, of establishing a system of cheap and easy transfer may possibly prove fatal to the plan of lending public money on the security of the tenants' holdings. When it takes years to sell a parcel of land, and when the cost of doing so is uncertain, but always great, it is evident that small parcels of land are a bad security from the fact of their not being marketable. Land reformers have often pointed out that the reluctance of banks (the natural traders in loans) to lend upon land is one of the greatest condemnations of the English land-transfer system. When the owner of a small lot of land subject to a mortgage to the State gets into difficulties, he cannot dispose of his interest until he may have become hopelessly involved, and incurred a bill of law costs which may leave him without anything from the realization of his estate. He cannot, moreover, sell to the best advantage when he meets a buyer with an appetite, for nothing can be done without lawyers' aid, and nothing can be done off-hand. Many small freeholds have from such causes been eaten up by costs attendant upon family arrangements and partitions.

The opportunity offered by a sale through a Government Commission is the most favorable for arranging for the future free transfer of land so sold. The title is cleared; the land is identified and defined by a map. If the record-of-title system were adopted for all such land, it would be a marketable and good security. The possession of a small parcel of land would not then be, as Lord Brougham thirty years ago said it was, and as it still remains, "a ruinous extravagance for a man of small means."

The general meaning of the report of the Cowper Commission, then, is in the sense of making amendments in the existing laws, of grafting new statutes on to the already complex laws relating to the relations of landlord and tenant and the purchase of land. It recommends no new departure, not even simplification and consolidation of the existing laws. If its proposals are embodied in legislation, they cannot be expected to contribute much towards a settlement on a permanent basis of this troublesome and vital question. A Land Valuer.

Correspondence.

THE ELECTIVE SYSTEM.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: On page 163 of the current volume of the *Nation*, "A. H.," in commenting on the statement that Harvard has been the leader in the "elective system," claims the leadership for the University of Virginia, and quotes a paragraph by Prof. Noah K. Davis in support of the claim. During the last few years this claim has again and again been made, but, in the opinion of some, upon a misunderstanding of the term "elective," which is applied to the system of the University of Virginia, but is there used in an entirely different sense from the more commonly accepted meaning. That it may be understood in what way the system of the University of Virginia is elective, the following is a brief sketch of the "elective system" and the University of Virginia "elective system."

The main facts are these. At Harvard, in 1823 and 1824, sixty-four years ago, the Faculty (Reports of the President of Harvard College for 1883-84 and 1884-85) "began to elaborate a system of instruction and discipline for students in the liberal arts which has come to be known as the elective system, because it permits each student, under limitations and guidance which are partly artificial but chiefly natural, to choose his subjects of study." Previous to the time mentioned, a uniform "curriculum" prevailed in most, if not in all, colleges in the United States, to which the student was required to conform. It extended over four years, and prescribed not only the kind of studies, but the order in which they were to be taken. Further, all persons admitted were presumably candidates for a degree (no provision being made for persons not candidates for a degree), and only in connection with such persons is the term "elective system" applied generally at present.

In 1825 laws were adopted at Harvard which provided for the admission "of persons who are not candidates for a degree" and "for the consideration, to a limited extent, of the desires of students in the arrangement of their studies." Beginning with some "electives" at this time (1825), it was not until 1841 that the electives became numerous, when they were allowed in all years except the Freshman year. In 1846 the electives were restricted to Junior and Senior years, where they remained for twenty years. In 1867, electives were allowed in Sophomore year again, and were gradually extended to Freshman year, so that at present there are only a few required studies in Freshman year.

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In order that a person may be admitted into Harvard College and become a student under the elective system, he must pass an entrance examination, and that the student thus admitted may be recommended for a degree, it is required (Harvard Cat. 1885-86. The requirements given below have been changed, Cat. 1886-87, but are quoted because they are in part yet in force, and show the numerical standard required), that the applicant has obtained as a minimum "two-fifths of the maximum mark in each of the prescribed studies of the college course and of the prescribed number of elective studies, and has, moreover, attained *one-half* of the total maximum mark for each year of the whole course from the time of his admission."

Besides the provision for regular students, at Harvard in 1825, it was announced that "The University is open to persons who are not candidates for a degree, and who desire to study in particular departments only." This was the result of a committee report, which said "that provision should be made for the admission and instruction of students in the University who may not wish a degree, but to pursue some particular studies to qualify them for scientific and mechanical employments and the active business of life; such students to have a right to choose their own studies, and, upon passing the regular prescribed course with the approbation of the Government, to be entitled to a certificate stating their character and qualifications." The provision for these students was repealed in 1847, and none were admitted again until 1876. At present these persons are called "special" students, who are admitted to the courses of study in Harvard College (Cat. 1885-86) on satisfying "the Faculty of their fitness to pursue the particular courses they elect, although they have not passed the usual examination for admission to College," and "a certificate of proficiency" is given, if desired, to any special student who has "attained not less than seventy-five per cent. of the maximum marks" in his chosen subjects. The special student may receive a certificate on Commencement Day and honors.

At the University of Virginia, which commenced its first term on the 5th of March, 1825 ('A Sketch of the University of Virginia,' 1885), the scheme of instruction is based upon a system of "schools," each under the exclusive control of its instructors, in each of which "a separate degree is conferred denominating the recipient a '*graduate*' in that school." "The University may . . . be fairly regarded as a *collection of schools*, each devoted to a special subject." In 1826 the Faculty proposed "To drop all the old unmeaning titles, and adopt in their stead the single term of 'GRADUATE,' except in the Medical School, where it will be necessary to retain the title of M.D. The degree of *Graduate* shall be conferred on those only who have acquired an accurate and extensive knowledge of the subject of one or more of the classes (in a school), or in any single language. . . . The exact title shall be GRADUATE U. V." This would not do, for in 1828 the Board of Visitors invited the Faculty to consider "whether it may not be proper to adopt the ancient denominations of Bachelor, Master, and Doctor, or some of them." In 1832 a degree with the title "MASTER OF ARTS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA" was conferred upon "those persons who had graduated in the Schools of Ancient Languages, Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Moral Philosophy, and in at least two of the languages taught in the School of Modern Languages"—at present French and German are prescribed (Cat. 1885-86). In 1848 the degree of "Bachelor of Arts of the University of Virginia" was established.

The system at the University of Virginia (Cat. 1885-86) "allows students to elect for themselves the departments to which they are led by their individual tastes and proposed pursuits in life. This freedom of election commends itself particularly to those who desire to make special attainments in some one department of knowledge."

"No student is subjected to entrance examinations, except Virginians seeking free tuition."

"A certificate of DISTINCTION is conferred on one who has attained three-fourths of the value of the questions at any General Examination."

"A certificate of PROFICIENCY is conferred on one who has passed examination on —— special subjects"—of which there are nineteen.

"A Diploma of GRADUATION is conferred on one who has passed examination on —— general courses"—of which there are twenty-two.

A comparison of the requirements and awards for special study at Harvard and elective study at the University of Virginia shows very close agreement. At Harvard, "elective studies" are not mentioned in connection with special students. At the University of Virginia election is not mentioned in connection with degrees. The election at Harvard is for a degree. The election at the University of Virginia is for special study without reference, necessarily, to a degree.

At the University of Virginia the requirements for degrees were prescribed, and were rigidly adhered to, except in the School of Modern Languages in the M.A. and two options in the B.A. degree, until 1880-81, when some modifications were made in the requirements, which have resulted at the present time in giving "options" in several degrees; but during these changes the highest degree of the University, "Master of Arts," has had its requirements inexorably fixed. The requirements for degrees are adhered to at the University of Virginia in a way that is without parallel in any college curriculum. In all prescribed courses the minimum of 75 per cent. has to be attained. No substitutions whatever are allowed. No excess in one study can make up for the least deficiency in another; tradition saying, for example, that in one case a student excellent in classics lost his degree of M.A. because he made only 74.5 per cent. instead of 75 per cent. in one of his scientific subjects. Any question as to the meaning of a degree of the University of Virginia has never been asked there, except, perhaps, during the past four or five years. Election at the University of Virginia, as far as degrees are concerned, simply means that the student may take the prescribed studies in what order he pleases and in what time he pleases or can. "The student obtains them (the Honors) whenever he can undergo the rigid examinations to which candidates are subjected."

If at Harvard it were said that passing in a certain number of special courses would entitle to a degree, then there would be something like an approach to the elective system of the University of Virginia. If there be leadership in either direction, it rather seems as if it belonged to Harvard, for, since 1880-81, the University of Virginia has made its degree of Bachelor of Arts much more flexible than ever before, and has conferred upon it some little of the indefiniteness of which so much complaint is made.

With regard to the religious exercises at the University of Virginia, they are voluntary in quite a different way from the courses of instruction. They are in no way connected with the University officially, and are not part of the scheme of education. No provision is made by the government of the University for religious exercises. The Chaplain is supported by the voluntary contributions of faculty and students. He has no official standing in the University. He is the private chaplain of certain persons who happen to be at the University. The success of the elective religious system is just the same kind of success as religion meets with in the world outside of the University.—Yours respectfully,

W. G. BROWN.

LEXINGTON VA., March 9, 1887.

THE TARIFF AND SOCIALISM.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The article by Mr. E. L. Godkin in the March number of the *New Princeton Review*, on the political and social aspects of the tariff, presents a view of the tariff question that is too much neglected. The controversy over the pecuniary results of the present system in the United States, although important, may fairly be regarded as of much less importance than the question of the effect of the policy of protection on our political and social institutions.

It may be said that the fundamental principle of American, as well as of English constitutional law, is the protection of the rights of the individual—or, more correctly stated, the protection of the individual in the legal enjoyment and assertion of his rights. It is for this purpose, chiefly, that laws have been made and administered. If we turn to the records of the proceedings of the courts, as found in the published reports of cases, both in the United States and in England, we find that the great effort of those who have been charged with the administration of the law in both countries has been to develop and apply, sometimes under the most adverse conditions, those great principles of personal liberty which are regarded as peculiarly the birthright of the Anglo-Saxon race. Even in criminal cases, in which the State intervenes to avenge a public wrong, the tendency has been to increase the safeguards of the accused, even at the expense of certainty and swiftness in the execution of justice.

In view of these legal traditions, and of the opposition which has been manifested, especially during the first half of the present century, by the people of the United States, to the idea of "paternal government" in various forms, it scarcely seems credible that they deliberately and intelligently entered upon their present protective policy, which exhibits one of the extremest forms of socialism. That they did not do so is sufficiently proved by an examination of our tariff laws, which discloses on every page the influence of private interests; and so far has this influence been carried that not infrequently we find it violating the very principle in whose name it is exerted.

But, whatever may have been the forces that brought the protective system up to its present condition, the system is here, and it is important to understand what it means. Its ostensible basis is protection to "American labor," or, to state the case more definitely, to those laborers who are employed in certain industries. No advocate of the system would admit that it is intended principally to benefit the manufacturer, the capitalist. Its justification is derived from its supposed benefit to the laborer.

Now, taking this principle as the proper basis of legislation, we are led logically and unavoidably to the regulation by the State not only of the price of products, but also of the rate of wages. It is believed that no legislature has as yet attempted to fix the rate of wages which shall be paid by private employers to a certain class of laborers, but if A, a consumer of a certain article, may be required to pay to B, the manufacturer, a certain price for the benefit of C, the manual laborer, why may not B reasonably and legally be required to pay a certain proportion of that price to C? In other words, why may not B legally be required to pay to C that portion of the price which the lawmaker intended that C should have?

It is evident that this would place society on a

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socialistic basis. But such legislation, instead of introducing a new principle, would simply give a definite and substantial form to the theory of protection to the laborer, which supports the present tariff system. J. B. M.

MARCH 8.

RESULTS OF SANITARY INSPECTION IN CHICAGO.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Some time ago a committee of British experts, on a visit of inspection to this country, pronounced the sanitary work of the Chicago Board of Health superior to that of any other city in this country. Chicago seems to maintain that supremacy, and to vie with any city in Europe in its successful coping with filth, disease, and tenement-house abuses. By the courtesy of the able Health Commissioner, Dr. Oscar C. De Wolf, to whom this work is largely due, I am enabled to give the following results, which have just been tabulated:

Years.	Population.	Total mortality.	Number per thousand of population.
1881	540,000	13,874	25.69
1882	560,693	13,234	23.60
1883	580,000	11,555	19 92
1884	630,000	12,471	19.80
1885	664,634	12,474	18.76
1886	704,000	13,699	19.43

With an increase of 104,000 in the population the actual number of deaths has diminished. If the mortality had increased 30 per cent. in the last five years, as has the population, the deaths in 1886 would have been 4,337 greater than they were. The lives of over 4,000 were thus saved.

The best indication of the health of a city is the fewness of deaths from zymotic diseases, such as fevers, which are held to be in large measure the result of poor sanitary conditions. Judged by this test, the results in our leading Western city are equally striking with those just given:

Years.	Number of deaths from zymotic diseases.	No. of deaths from zymotic diseases per 1,000 of population.	Deaths from all causes under 15 years of age.	No. of these deaths per 1,000 of population.
1881	4,213	7.80	7,371	13.65
1882	4,509	8.05	6,645	11.90
1883	3,053	5.25	5,875	10.13
1884	3,506	5.26	6,666	10.58
1885	3,210	4.83	6,187	9 32
1886	3,437	4.88	6,763	9.61

Years.	Deaths under one year of age, from all causes.	No. of these deaths per 1,000 of population.	Percentage of deaths of all ages from zymotic diseases to total mortality.
1881	4,374	8.10	30.37
1882	4,059	7.25	34.07
1883	3,850	6.64	26.42
1884	4,179	6.63	28.11
1885	4,000	6.02	25.73
1886	4,081	5.80	25.09

As is well known, not a house can be erected in Chicago until the plans have been approved by the Health Commissioner, who can order changes; nor can the house be occupied or the plumbing concealed until a second inspection. Old houses must be remedied of unhealthful conditions, or vacated on order of the Commissioner, who examines every house and tenement in the city every year or two without waiting for complaints. Instead of young medical students who know almost nothing of sanitation or plumbing, practical plumbers, and competent, if not highly educated, assistants, are employed as inspectors under the direction of expert sanitary engineers. The results are shown above; for, although Chicago is too young to have the rookeries and consequent mortality of some older cities, there is no way of accounting for the remarkable decrease in the death rate unless it be ascribed to the work of the Board of Health. Not only have the lives of over four thousand a year been saved, but the homes, and consequently the health, of tens of thousands of others have been improved, doctors' bills saved, and decent modes of living made possible. Similar results will follow similar work elsewhere. EDWARD W. BEMIS.

SPRINGFIELD, MASS.

THE PHILADELPHIA POSTMASTERSHIP.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In your review of the two years' administration of Mr. Cleveland, you charge that the President did not fairly carry out his promises in some cases as to removals from office, and cite the removals in Philadelphia.

I wish to put upon record the facts as to the removal of Mr. Huidekoper, the Postmaster. On the 6th of June, 1885, in company with some ten members of the Philadelphia Independents, I called upon the President to urge the retention of Mr. Huidekoper, Mr. Valentine, the District Attorney, and Mr. Eyster, the Assistant Treasurer, *and these alone*. We were all strangers to the President, and were introduced and had a very satisfactory interview. Within a few weeks one member of the delegation, without informing the others of his proposed action, wrote to the President, reminding him of the interview, and saying that he desired to withdraw all support of Mr. Huid koper, and, in fact, made serious charges affecting him in his official capacity. No intimation of this action reached the other members of the committee until after the removal in November following. In entire ignorance of it, none other of the committee took any further steps on behalf of Mr. Huidekoper, and no refutation was made of the charges, which, in justice to him, I must add, were entirely groundless. The circumstances were very unfortunate for Mr. Huidekoper, for they doubtless caused his removal, the President naturally taking the utterances of one member for those of the whole committee. Mr. Eyster served out his full term. Mr. Valentine is still the District Attorney.

Respectfully, etc.,

JOS. LAPSLEY WILSON.

PHILADELPHIA, March 12, 1887.

TRANSFORMATION OF SURNAMES.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In your interesting column of letters some time ago were several anecdotes connected with changes of names. Allow me to present the following as a companion:

Many years ago, on a farm in Vermont, there was a Frenchman at work whose surname was Papillon. His fellow-laborers found the name difficult to pronounce, so the owner of the farm suggested his being called by the English equivalent, Butterfly. That was adopted, but soon grew too long, and degenerated into "Fly." He never knew any other. His descendants would find it difficult to trace their ancestry if they desired, under such circumstances. From the aristocratic Papillon to "Fly" is indeed a great descent.—Very truly yours,

CECIL HAMPDEN HOWARD.

THE ASTOR LIBRARY, NEW YORK, March 11, 1887.

Notes.

G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS publish immediately 'The Inter-State Commerce Act,' with an analysis and a legal dissertation on the legality of the act, by John R. Dos Passos, of the New York bar. They have also in press 'The American Electoral System; its Character and its History,' by Chas. A. O'Neil, of the New York bar.

Probably no provisions of the Inter-State Commerce Act will involve more dispute than the phrases "like service" and "substantially similar circumstances and conditions"; but similar terms, and in some instances identically the same terms, have been used in the railway acts of Great Britain for more than thirty years, and the English courts have been called upon frequently, and in diverse circumstances, to construe them. Robert Clarke & Co., Cincinnati, have in preparation, to be issued in a few weeks, an annotated edition of the Inter-State Commerce Law, collecting all these authorities.

Harper & Bros. are about to publish 'Wasteland Wanderings,' by Dr. Chas. C. Abbott, the well-known New Jersey naturalist; a 'Manual of International Law,' by Lieut. Geo. B. Davis, U. S. A.; translations of three stories, 'Baldine,' etc., from the German of Karl Erdmann Edler; a translation of Paul Célière's 'Startling Exploits of Dr. Quiès'; and Blackmore's 'Springhaven.'

T. Y. Crowell & Co. have nearly ready 'The Death of Ivan Ilyitch, and Other Stories,' by Count L. N. Tolstoi; 'Cuoré,' by Edmondo De Amicis; 'Sigrid,' from the Danish of J. T. Thoroddsson; and 'The Picture of Paul,' by the Rev. H. R. Haweis.

Funk & Wagnalls announce a new edition of Dr. Lyman Abbott's 'Henry Ward Beecher, his Life and Characteristics,' with many portraits.

'Juanita: a Romance of Real Life in Cuba,' yet not all fiction, written (as we infer, about 1830) by the late Mrs. Horace Mann, is to be published by D. Lothrop & Co., Boston.

Under the title, 'Celebrities of the Century,' Cassell & Co. will soon publish a biographical dictionary of the century, "containing condensed accounts of the lives of every man and woman who have won distinction during the years from 1800 to 1887, no matter what quarter of the globe they may be natives of." This work, in one large volume, is edited by Lloyd C. Sanders, of Christ Church, Oxford. They will also shortly begin publication of Prof. Henry Morley's 'History of English Literature,' in twenty volumes. The whole narrative will be continuous, but the volumes will be grouped in sections, which may be read as distinct histories of periods, and each volume will be separately indexed.

'English as She is Taught,' announced by Cassell & Co., is a public-school teacher's scrap-book of actual mistakes recorded in her experience with her pupils.

The first two volumes of the six-volume edition of Browning, undertaken by Houghton, Mifflin & Co., will appear in April. They will shortly add Marston to their series of "English Dramatists."

An *édition de luxe*, limited to 100 copies, of 'Half-Hours with American Authors,' is promised by J. B. Lippincott Co.

Mr. C. H. Howard, of the Astor Library, is about to issue, through F. Housh & Co., his lecture on the 'Life and Public Services of the late Gen. J. W. Phelps,' read in December before the New England Historic-Genealogical Society in Bos-

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ton. He is also preparing 'Amherst in Prose and Verse,' a companion to his 'Brattleboro.'

Craig & Barlow, Chicago, have in press 'Romanism: The Danger Ahead,' by A. J. Grover, a lawyer of that city.

D. C. Heath and Co., Boston, will issue at once, in their series of "Monographs on Education," a paper by Prof. J. F. Genung of Amherst College, on "The Study of Rhetoric in the College Course."

'Letters from the Far East' is the title of a forthcoming book, by Col. De Lancey Floyd-Jones, U. S. A., now on the press of the Public Service Publishing Co., of New York. It will contain a number of full-page illustrations from photographs collected en route.

Mr. James Payn is gathering into a volume, to be called 'Holiday Tasks' (London: Chatto & Windus; New York: Scribner & Welford), certain of his pleasant little papers in a lighter vein, akin in style to his 'Some Private Views' and 'Some Literary Recollections.'

Mr. R. H. Tilley, Newport, R. I., is preparing for publication his 'Genealogical Queries' for 1887, and desires all who intend to insert queries therein to send them as soon as possible. His purpose is to have it ready and distributed by June 1, sending a copy to each public library, State library, historical society, and every person known to be interested in genealogy in the United States and Canada. One hundred and three copies will also be sent to England.

The Rev. Dr. John Croumbie Brown, Haddington, Scotland, author or compiler of several works on modern forestry, offers to present copies to the extent of his ability to public libraries in this country, on receiving a certificate from the State government along with the application.

We are informed by a circular from the Faculty of Letters of Lyons (France) that they propose to issue a photolithographic reproduction of the celebrated manuscript known under the name of *Bible vaudoise*. This manuscript is one of the treasures of the library of the Palais des Arts at Lyons. It contains the greater part of the New Testament, and has, at the end, a Vaudois or Cathar ritual of the highest interest for the history of the attempts at religious reform in the Middle Ages. The manuscript contains five hundred pages, of which fifty were published in 1878 by Foerster. It is said to be very difficult reading on account of the great number of abbreviations, and the reproduction will consequently be as interesting to palæographers as it will be useful to students of Romance philology.

'The French Principia,' Part iii (Harper & Bros.), presents itself in a very attractive form for a school-book, and a careful examination of the contents only confirms the good impression made by the material execution of the volume. This Third Part is an 'Introduction to French Prose Composition,' by the Head Master of the French School, Christ's Hospital, the Rev. P. H. E. Brette, author and annotator of other valuable text-books. It is upon the plan of Smith's well-known 'Principia Latina.' The grammatical information is so full and so clearly given that a pupil who had only an elementary knowledge of the accidence of the language might use the book satisfactorily, to acquire all that is absolutely necessary in order to write French correctly. The plan pursued in the exercises is not new. There are numerous passages of English prose to be translated into French, with many carefully made notes and references to the grammatical portion of the book. The only objection that suggests itself is that the extracts seem very serious, very little space being given to the colloquial part of the language; but doing that perhaps would have made the 'French Principia' differ too widely from the books upon which it has been modelled. Besides its other advantages, the work is provided with an excellent index, a very full set of questions on French Composition, and a sufficient English-French vocabulary.

The praise we have heretofore given to M. de Rougemont's 'La France,' as a truly useful text-book in schools, can only be repeated with emphasis in view of the new edition, to which the Writers' Publishing Co. have added a map of France, while improving the quality of the binding, etc.

In the series of monographs published in Paris by J. Rouam, under the title "Les Artistes Célèbres" M. Champfleury's 'La Tour' takes a high place by its literary quality. It is a very graceful, informal presentation of episodes in the life of this famous painter in pastel, rather than a consecutive biography, and is really a study of men, women, and manners in the eighteenth century. Thus we are shown La Tour's relations, as a portraitist and otherwise, with Rousseau, Diderot, Voltaire, Mme. de Pompadour, Mlle. Camargo, Mlle. Fel, etc. Many portraits of this group are reproduced here, and sufficiently well where a crayon effect is concerned. The copies of engravings after La Tour are inadequate except as memoranda. Incidentally, M. Champfleury, citing a letter from Rousseau to La Tour, remarks the careless employment of *avait* (*avais*) eight times in four lines.

M. Camille Saint-Saëns, the distinguished composer, has just published a most interesting little pamphlet on a subject which would seem quite out of his line to any one not aware of his active interest in all the arts. This is a 'Note sur les décors de théâtre dans l'antiquité romaine' (Paris: L. Baschet; New York: F. W. Christern). Considering the elaborate architecture of the Roman Theatre, of which that at Orange may be taken as the best known example, he shows the incongruity of the ornate and abundantly sculptured decoration of the proscenium for the effect of the acted drama; and he suggests that the light and attenuate columns which appear so frequently in the Pompeian frescoes, are a decorative reminiscence of the slight wooden scaffoldings which he supposes to have been erected inside the stone proscenium whenever a performance was given on the stage. He supports this suggestion by a reproduction of certain frescoes, and by an apt quotation from Vitruvius.

Within the past year M. Octave Uzanne, editor of *Le Livre*, has published two books of interest to all book-lovers—'Nos Amis les livres' and 'La Reliure moderne'; and now a third is announced, 'Bouquineurs et Bouquinistes: Du Pont-Royal au Pont-Marie—Physiologie des Quais Parisiens.' This is a monograph on the open-air book trade along the parapets of the Seine, the favorite fishing-ground of the book-hunter, as Mr. Lang has shown him to us in his graceful *ballade*. The book will have an etched frontispiece, and about a hundred sketches by M. Émile Mas scattered through the text. The edition will be limited (Paris: Quantin; New York: F. W. Christern).

A new series of "Shakspere Reprints" (London: Whittaker & Co.), consisting of parallel texts of the First Quarto and First Folio, with variations of the later Quartos and Folios at the foot of the page, edited by Wilhelm Vietor, Ph.D., Professor in the University of Marburg, is begun with "King Lear." The editor reproduces the Pied Bull Quarto from the copy known as the British Museum Perfect, but he was obliged to depend upon a friend's transcript and subsequent verification of the proof until the facsimile of it by Prætorius was published. For the Folio likewise he relied on the facsimile, and for the readings of other texts on Furness or the Cambridge editors. The difficulty of work under such a system is the greater in this case, because only two of the six copies of this quarto collated by the Cambridge editors are alike, being made up of corrected and uncorrected sheets in various combinations. A brief comparison of the present reprint with the quarto facsimiles and the collation in Mr. Daniel's preface shows that the editor's work is not scrupulously exact, slight errors in spelling (III, iv, 124, note Q 1) and in punctuation (V, iii, 41, note Q 2) and variations from the typography (V, i, 19) being noticeable; but these are immaterial, so far as we have observed, to the study of the text. The volume is small and handy, and the series will be very serviceable in bringing together the facts of the texts for convenient study.

We have already characterized the handsome edition of the "Waverley Novels," manufactured by the Messrs. Black in Edinburgh, with the American imprint of J. B. Lippincott Co. Two more volumes, 'The Bride of Lammermoor' and 'The Heart of Midlothian,' have come to hand with their refreshing typography. From the same American house we have another volume in the pocket Thackeray edition of Smith, Elder & Co., the 'Irish Sketch Book.'

A magnifying glass should be thrown in with the new edition (12mo) of 'Nuttall's Standard Dictionary' (Frederick Warne & Co.). Everything has been sacrificed to condensation. It is illustrated.

'The Romance of Invention,' by James Burnley (Cassell & Co.), is a treasury of curious facts and anecdotes relating to nearly every department of mechanical industry. These are told in an entertaining way, the monotony inseparable from such a subject being often avoided by the skilful grouping of topics by some remote connection instead of the natural one of similarity of aim. The range is very wide, embracing all ages, and treating of inventive cooks, hair-dressers, and toy-makers as well as the Arkwrights and Stephensons. Accounts are also given of the alchemists and the pursuers after the phantoms of perpetual motion and the eternal lamp, and there are chapters showing ingenuity in concocting poisons and devising tortures and punishments. In the chapter on "Castles in the Air" we do not find a reference to the great instance in which a balloon was of practical importance, in enabling Gambetta to escape from Paris. The space given to Nasmyth's love story would have been used to better purpose with an account of his steam hammer, remarkable among inventions from the fact that, instead of being the result of long and costly experiments, it sprang, Minerva-like, full-grown and perfect from the inventor's brain. It may be well to note, in case a second edition is reached, that the first successful newspaper in this country was the Boston *News Letter*, published in 1704. The book is made useful for reference by an excellent index.

Not devoid of brightness, and not without some merit in respect of efforts to inculcate domestic virtue, is a story called 'Forced Acquaintances,' written for young girls by Edith Robinson (Ticknor & Co.). It is, nevertheless, a poor production, ill-balanced and tedious; too much is said of disagreeable details, too little of grave wrong-doing, while the dialogue and character-drawing are unsatisfactory.

Mr. Elliot Stock's promised "*Book Prices Current*: a Monthly Record of the Prices at which Books have been Sold at Auction," is before us in the January number. It is a comely duodecimo pamphlet of sixty-four pages, and is sold only to subscribers, at £1 5s. 6d. per annum. Each title is numbered, the last here recorded being No. 1,040, while in every case the auctioneer's catalogue number is given in brackets. Under each sale the arrangement is alphabetical, by authors if possible, and hence it is easy for col-

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lector or dealer to find the entry that interests him. If Bewick, here is the first edition of the 'Quadrupeds' selling at £3 13s., and the second for £2 5s.; if Cruikshank, here is his 'Comic Almanac,' fetching £2 8s., or his 'Phrenological Illustrations,' in the original wrappers, £2 12s.; if Dickens, here is the first edition of 'Oliver Twist,' original cloth, £6 17s. 6d.; if Ruskin, here is the first edition of the 'Stones of Venice,' £16 5s.; if Shelley, here is the first English edition of 'The Cenci,' £1 4s., etc., etc. Still, an index embracing all these titles under one alphabet would greatly enhance the convenience of using this catalogue; nor would it cost much.

The second number of the *Audubon Magazine* (New York: *Forest and Stream* Publishing Co.) has for a frontispiece a process reproduction of Audubon's plate, "The Great Auk."

The January issue of the *American Naturalist* shows a marked improvement in its typographical appearance, beginning with its cover. The cause is to be found in the new imprint, the magazine being now published by J. B. Lippincott Co.

In *Science* for March 11, Prof. Mendenhall, improving a hint of De Morgan's, constructs curves showing the relative use of long and short words by Dickens ('Oliver Twist' and 'Christmas Carol'), Thackeray ('Vanity Fair'), Mill ('Political Economy' and 'Essay on Liberty'), Edward Atkinson in sundry writings, and Cæsar ('Commentaries'). These curves are shown to be individual enough to warrant the prosecution of the inquiry; and we commend this not unfascinating labor to any intelligent person with sufficient leisure for it. It has its practical uses, as Prof. Mendenhall shows, and may in time be applied to the determination of Shaksperian authorship. One hundred thousand words are deemed a proper basis for the characteristic curve of any given writer. Incidentally it is shown that the mean word length of Atkinson is 4.298 letters, of Dickens, 4 342, Thackeray, 4.481, of Mill, 4.775.

Conformably to an order of the Prussian Ministry, the inaugural lectures of instructors, the discourses delivered and the books written in celebration of festal occasions, the dissertations of the graduating doctors, and various other publications made by the German universities or under their auspices, are henceforth to be recorded in an annual list. The first *Jahres-Verzeichniss* of this kind has just appeared (Berlin: A. Asher & Co.). It covers the year from August 15, 1885, to August 14, 1886, makes an octavo of nigh 250 pages, and costs five marks. An edition on thin paper, printed on only one side, and intended for the use of all who make card-catalogues, may be had for the same price. But the knights of the scissors and paste-pot are not the only ones who will rejoice to see the importance of this new departure recognized by so high authority.

Princeton is to have its Annex as well as Harvard, and we rejoice to record the fact. The institution will be called "Evelyn College"; will give "substantially the same course of study that is pursued at Princeton College, including the lectures of the professors, with examinations upon them"; "will have no sectarian character," nor "will anything of the nature of co-education be represented in it." The building is all ready, comfortably and even luxuriously fitted up, and the first term will open on September 28, 1887. A preparatory department is provided. Elective studies, except in the case of Greek, are confined to the Junior and Senior years. Application for information should be made to the Rev. J. H. McIlvaine, D.D., President.

The Harvard Summer School of Geology will open its sixth session at Cambridge on July 6, at the Museum of Comparative Zoölogy, under the direction of Profs. Shaler and Davis. A fortnight spent there in introductory work and short daily excursions will be followed during the next four weeks by excursions to the Connecticut Valley, the Hoosac Valley and vicinity, and the foot-hills of the Catskills. "Advanced knowledge of geology will not be required, but only teachers, graduates of colleges, or persons of maturity and some training, can be admitted"—and men only. Applications should be made to Mr. T. W. Harris, Divinity Hall, Cambridge, Mass., not later than June 1. The expenses, including tuition, are calculated not to exceed $120.

Pach Brothers, 841 Broadway, send us a large photographic group showing the staff officers of the Thirteenth New York Regiment, with Mr. Beecher in chaplain's costume—cross on hat, and sword in hand—for the chief figure. Tastes will differ as to the costume and the character in which his admirers will prefer to remember the great preacher who has just left us. If the choice were left to Count Leo Tolstoi, we may be sure he would care little for the unique "portrait in uniform" now before us, good (and appropriately grim) as it is.

—Prof. C. C. Everett's article upon "The Poems of Emerson," in the current *Andover Review*, is not written from the literary point of view, and is the more interesting on that account. Whether he agrees with Arnold's dictum that the 'Essays' are "the most important work done in prose" in this present century, is not plain, but, after quoting it, he adds that, in his opinion, the "Poems" are "the most complete and worthy expression" of Emerson's genius. He is himself most at home in philosophy and ethics, and he certainly does not overrate Emerson's work in these departments; his analysis of it leaves a meagre residuum, and he concludes that "obviously this, so far as it can be called a philosophy, is the philosophy of a poet," and, secondly, that "as his philosophy is the philosophy of a poet, so his ethics is the ethics of a poet." It would appear that Prof. Everett thinks that "a poet's" philosophy and ethics have some privileges not shared by the ordinary scholar; but one can only admire the polemical art which utilizes so serious a reservation for a greater praise. Coming to the poems, the writer finds the usual qualities in them, but he states some of them in a way to provoke challenge. "The notion that the poems of Emerson lack passion is as wide of the mark as the complaint that they are abstract," is a remark that at first seems subversive of our old ideas, in both its assertions. Here the temper and the training of the critic count very strongly. He frankly acknowledges that he speaks of Emerson's obscurity rather "from hearsay than from very much personal experience"; but to pass the point of "abstractness," and come to that of "passion," it is clear that Prof Everett has a very different meaning in mind from the usual sense of the word, when we read that in many of Emerson's poems "there is another, if not a higher, passion than the personal." Emerson, he immediately adds, had a passion for Beauty and for the Ideal; but is this anything more than saying that he was susceptible of *intellectual* exaltation? It is not this quality that is denied to him when he is said to lack passion. Here, as in the question of obscurity, Prof. Everett seems to us to be executing a not very successful flank movement. Another startling remark is that in which he speaks of Emerson's poetry as "the voice of a spirit all the more confident in its optimism *because it had been bold enough to gaze down into the darkest chasms of life.*" Was Emerson's knowledge of evil so profound? Thus one finds matter for controversy; but the paper is one which will be read with great interest, and is of higher critical value than any late contribution to the reviews.

—M. Francisque Sarcey, in a short series of articles in the *République Française*, has again brought up the much debated question of the importance of the French *patois*. He very justly remarks that a number of French words now fallen into desuetude, but still preserved in the local dialects, should be restored to the literary language. Such are *aveindre*, *quérir*, and the short and expressive form *c'étant*, which has been replaced by *puisqu'il en est ainsi*. But M. Sarcey does not stop there. He could wish the *patois* to be less rigorously excluded from the primary schools—that teachers in the south of France, for instance, should be allowed to use Provençal in the class-room. Thereupon his friend, M. J.-J. Weiss, writes to him from his retirement at Fontainebleau, that he has raised rather "a political than a pedagogical question." Later, a writer in the *Temps* raises the cry against the "Félibres" and all those who are aiming to establish a second national language in France. He sees, in the writing of Provençal poetry like that of Mistral or Aubanel, only "un divertissement de mandarin," which will always remain inaccessible to the people at large. But in the claims made by those who wish to rehabilitate the dialects of their native province he sees a serious, a dangerous tendency, which, if it could ever reach the point aimed at, would endanger the political unity of France. It may be noted that a first step has already been taken. Telegrams can now be sent officially in Provençal and Breton as well as in French.

— Professor Gneist contributes to the February and March numbers of the *Deutsche Revue* a sort of epilogue to his Constitutional History, in the shape of an article on the change wrought in the English Constitution by the legislation of the last fifty years, and by the attempts to wreck it in behalf of Irish autonomy. Prof. Gneist's opinions deserve respect, not only because he is probably the most thorough student of this subject of the century, but because, for a German and a professor, he is a remarkably "practical" politician, having served without interruption in the Prussian Parliament since 1859, and in the German since 1871. English institutions, he says, are in a state of solution, and cannot regain the cohesiveness in which lay their strength until the Irish element is gotten rid of. But even if the conservative classes (using the word in a social rather than a political sense) understand this, they may well hesitate to apply the remedy, for its adoption involves, by force of example, a complete reconstruction of the society of Great Britain. The Irish land bills, past and future, cannot, he says, be fitly compared with the Stein and Hardenberg legislation in behalf of the Prussian peasants, because these had for several generations been paying the taxes and performing the military service in exchange for which the land was held by the dispossessed holders. The estates in question, that is to say, were held of the Government by a feudal tenure; and as the feudal obligations, translated into modern civic duties, fell on the shoulders of the peasants, they had almost a legal claim to a share in the land. But in Ireland, according to Prof. Gneist, the peasants have no such claim; so that the property of the landlords is in part to be confiscated solely from expediency, on political and economical grounds. As there can be no limits to legislation dictated solely by expediency, the socialistic greed thus awakened will surely, he thinks, extend to the countries across the Channel. The difference between English institutions and the Continental arrangements more or less modelled on them lay in the fact that the former—Church and Parliament, local and national administrations—were inextricably intertwined, while the latter were created each to

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stand on its own bottom. But while, in a society so constituted, each member is a support to the others so long as itself is in a healthy state, it is a corresponding source of weakness when this condition is changed. The machinery of the Constitution, which formerly worked so smoothly, has gradually been getting out of gear ever since the first Reform Bill, owing to the enormous increase in wealth and numbers of the industrial middle class, for whose assimilation the old system did not provide. But it is possible, Prof. Gneist thinks, when a perpetually foreign element like the Irish is removed, to maintain the parliamentary form along with complete social reconstruction, although the aristocratic class is likely to become irreconcilable, as in France. As to Ireland, there is not much home rule in the scheme of autonomy which the Professor thinks the only practicable one "in view of the want of self-control of the Irish, as shown in the United States." He proposes a legislature in which the majority shall be nominated by the Crown; the local administration, modelled on the French, to consist of prefects assisted by elective councils, service in which may, in time, give the people the political understanding and experience essential to the successful working of the principle of self-government.

—'Aus dem deutschen Universitätsleben des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts' is the title of one of the most recent numbers of the "Frankfurter zeitgemässe Brochüren" (Neue Folge, Band vii, Heft 12. Frankfurt am Main: Foesser, pp. 31). The author is the celebrated Ultramontane historian, Johannes Janssen, whose 'Geschichte des deutschen Volkes seit dem Ausgang des Mittelalters' has elicited so much discussion in Germany. The monograph consists of interesting extracts from a wide range of authorities, showing that immediately after the Reformation the German universities degenerated, and that in the second half of the sixteenth century they were the seats of sloth, drunkenness, murder, and many other abominations. "The ecclesiastical revolution of the sixteenth century," says the author in his preamble, "which loosened all the old bonds of discipline and order, also exerted a very paralyzing and pernicious influence upon the intellectual life and the institutions of learning." Luther himself asserted that "the universities deserve to be crushed to powder; nothing more hellish and devilish has appeared on earth since the beginning of the world" (p. 2). Melanchthon wrote in 1521 that "nothing had ever been invented more baneful and godless than the universities; not the Popes, but the devil himself was their founder" (p. 2). In 1614 the students of Wittenberg were ordered to discontinue the practice of drinking beer in the "Auditorum" during the lectures (p. 10). A student of Basel stated in 1587 that either the professors were remiss enough to lecture very seldom, or they taught without method, mixing up heaven and earth (p. 12). "The name learned," says Prof. Hofmann in 1578, "is almost detested by high and low" (p. 13). "The conduct of the students was so unseemly," writes another authority in 1557, "that the glistening tears often fell from Melanchthon's eyes during his lectures, and he frequently said that the unbounded license of the young men was a sign that the end of the world was near at hand" (p. 19). Some of the statements which Janssen cites in support of his position are, in all probability, exaggerated; for example, the assertion on page 26 that in the year 1540, within six months, four hundred persons drank themselves to death at Wittenberg. Doubtless, too, other elements besides the Reformation helped to bring about the decadence of the German universities. But the author's general account of the shocking condition of the latter during the sixteenth century may be accepted as correct.

—Mr. Welldon's translation of Aristotle's 'Rhetoric' (Macmillan) is careful and reasonably smooth and idiomatic, but the translator's admiration of the original has led him into strange statements. We will not question what he says about the neglect of rhetoric as an educational instrument in England; only we would guard against the inference that Aristotle's work has been unduly neglected, except so far as every editor, every translator, thinks that his bright particular author is a slighted wall-flower. But it is going too far to say, as Mr. Welldon does, that the art of rhetoric was the creation of Aristotle, and that "whatever has been best in it from this time to the present is due to him." Aristotle cannot be called the creator of rhetoric, and, instead of being a brilliant success as a teacher of the art, he was a conspicuous failure in comparison with Isocrates, who, in other respects, is not to be named in the same breath with him; and, profound and valuable as is the basis on which he has reared the structure of his 'Rhetoric,' his treatise had little practical worth in the eyes of his successors, who were far from being his equals in intellectual grasp, but who had the great merit of not being above their business. Mr. Welldon thinks that the field of rhetoric was amplified in a direction which Aristotle had deliberately left alone. This, again, is claiming far too much. The later rhetoricians cannot be ignored by the student of literature except at his peril, as has been amply shown by Volkmann and by Blass. In fact, modern æsthetic criticism has much to learn from these despised rhetoricians, who give us system where the modern critic gives only hints. The third book of the 'Rhetoric' seems to be accepted by Mr. Welldon unreservedly as Aristotelian, but he does not note that, if it is by Aristotle, it is a singular tribute to Aristotle's rival, Isocrates, to whom the philosopher is obliged to resort for illustrations of some of his points. In his rendering of this book, by the way, Mr. Welldon has not been invariably felicitous. So the famous εἰρομένη he translates, after Mure, 'jointed,' an absurdity from which he might have been warned off by Mr. Cope, who suggests 'disjointed,' which is certainly much nearer the mark. The *vetusta versio* has the droll word *consuspensa*, and the other Latin versions try *tracta*, *fusa*, and what not. Most scholars prefer to keep the non-committal Greek, but surely the meaning is plain enough. The λέξις εἰρομένη is the 'strung style,' the 'all-in-a row style,' the 'chaplet,' the 'rosary' style; the words being held together by the conjunction as the beads are held together by the knot of the string. In this rosary style the conjunctions are represented by the larger beads, and such a discourse could go on for ever, whereas the periodic style carries the end in itself.

— The thirty-six-inch lenses for the great telescope of the Lick Observatory, whose construction has been some five years delayed through the impossibility of obtaining the necessary glass, were completed at the workshops of the Clarks in Cambridgeport last autumn, and have been successfully transported across the Continent and finally deposited in the vaults of the Lick Observatory on Mount Hamilton. The matter of transportation was one of the greatest moment to the trustees, as any mishap to the lenses would defeat their expectation of completing the observatory and its equipment during the present year in such shape that it could be finally handed over to the Regents of the State University of California. Mr. Fraser, the superintendent of construction of the observatory, made a special journey to the East for the express purpose of carrying out the lenses, and the manner in which they were prepared for this journey is well described in a late number of the *Sidereal Messenger*. They were wrapped separately in fifteen or twenty thicknesses of soft cotton cloth. Next came a thick layer of cotton and then a layer of paper. The glasses were then put into boxes of wood, lined with felt. No nails were used near the lenses, and the boxes were made the shape of the glasses. These boxes were enclosed in two others of steel, each nearly cubical in form, and packed tightly with curled hair. Each steel box was enclosed in another steel box, the inner sides of which were covered with spiral springs. Both steel boxes were made air-tight and waterproof, and the outer chests packed with asbestos to render them fire-proof. Each was then suspended by pivots in strong wooden frames, with contrivances for turning each chest one-quarter way round every day during the journey to California. This was to prevent any molecular disarrangement in the glasses and to avoid the danger of polarization, it being feared that the jarring of the train would disturb the present arrangement of the molecules, unless the position of the glass should be changed and all lines of disturbance thus broken up. The trustees have placed the separate contracts for the other portions of this great telescope with manufacturers who have so far met with special success in the particular class of work involved, all the mechanical parts of the telescope (or mounting, as it is technically called) being made at Cleveland, by Messrs. Warner & Swasey, the micrometer or measuring apparatus by Fauth & Company of Washington, and the spectroscope—which, like the telescope, is to be the most powerful in existence—by Mr. Brashear, who has served a long and able apprenticeship under Prof. Langley at Allegheny. For obvious reasons, the trustees finally decided not to adopt the new pattern of spherical dome which has very generally been described as that which would cover the great telescope on Mount Hamilton, but placed the contract for a dome of the ordinary pattern and nearly eighty feet in diameter with the Union Iron Works at San Francisco. Of the $700,000 of the original bequest made by Mr. Lick eleven years ago, his trustees have already expended all but $190,000, and they now contemplate assembling together all the separate parts of the great telescope (which itself with accessories has cost nearly $200,000) at some time during the coming summer or autumn, when their control of the institution will cease.

GARDINER'S GREAT CIVIL WAR.

History of the Great Civil War, 1642-1649. By Samuel R. Gardiner, M.A., LL.D. Fellow of All Souls, etc., etc. Vol. i, 1642-1644. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1886.

"The Civil War, the outbreak of which was announced by the floating of Charles's standard on the hill at Nottingham, was rendered inevitable by the inadequacy of the intellectual methods of the day to effect a reconciliation between opposing moral and social forces, which derived their strength from the past development of the nation. The personal characters of the leaders might do much to shorten or prolong the time of open warfare, but no permanent restoration of harmony would be possible till some compromise which would give security alike to the disciples of Hooker and to the disciples of Calvin, had been not only thought out by the few, but generally accepted by the many."

This is the opening paragraph of Mr. Gardiner's new volume. The words of it deserve careful attention. They strike the keynote to all that follows; they sum up the great merits and indicate the possible deficiencies of the mode in which Mr. Gardiner looks at history.

He is essentially a student of ideas. The true subject of all his writings is not events, and the visible transactions which make up the matter of

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historical composition, but rather the spirit, the notions, the beliefs, the opinions, or (to speak generally) the ideas, which, as they ultimately govern human action, give its form to the progress of mankind. The special belief which, throughout every volume of his invaluable work, Mr. Gardiner keeps before his eyes, is the belief, developed so slowly and opposed by so many obstacles, in religious toleration—or, rather, in that respect for the human conscience, and for the truths discovered by the light of conscience and of intellect, which forms the real basis of enlightened toleration. So truly is Mr. Gardiner concerned with the progress of opinion that it were, from one point of view, no untrue description of his history to say that it was an account of the steps by which the doctrine of toleration was first worked out by thinkers, and then acquiesced in by the judgment of the nation.

But though Mr. Gardiner's interest may be truly said to lie in what, borrowing a term from theology, we may call the growth of political dogma, he is distinguished from writers who trace the evolution of particular beliefs, by his intense interest in actual men and women, and by the tenacity with which he clings to the conviction that (if the actions of mankind are in a sense governed by their ideas) dogmas and opinions, in so far as they are influential at all, can only exist in the minds and hearts of living human beings, who themselves are swayed by all the feelings, base or noble, which we see governing the society in which we live. It is this balance between the abstract and the concrete view of history which gives to Mr. Gardiner's writings their peculiar power, and also their very peculiar charm. He knows that "the inadequacy of the intellectual methods of the day" was in a very true sense the cause of the civil war. But he also knows, and never lets his readers forget, that the ideas, good and bad, of the seventeenth century produced very different results on different characters. Charles and Cromwell, Falkland and Pym, Bunyan and Chillingworth, were no doubt each and all influenced by the conceptions of their time. But the results of this influence were in each case very different; and for any profound understanding of the age in which these men moved you must, as Mr. Gardiner never forgets, pay at least as much attention to the personal peculiarities of the actors who played their parts in it, as to the general ideas which gave the direction to each man's individual action.

Thus, to take one example among a score, when Mr. Gardiner wishes to make us understand the various forces which led men of very different types to rally round the Crown, he does not present us with a number of abstract reflections as to the different reasons which might be adduced in favor of the Royal cause, but takes two or three men, such as Rupert, Lindsey, Falkland, and Waller, and tells us, as far as our knowledge, or rather our ignorance, allows, what were the motives which in fact determined the course adopted by each of these eminent persons. To know the reasons of their action is to understand why thousands of other less well-known Englishmen found themselves—sometimes to their great surprise—arrayed in arms for the King and against the Parliament. This mode of treating a great historical crisis has two great advantages: it gives the historian himself a kind of intellectual impartiality and calmness which is the rarest, if not the very greatest, of the gifts required by any one who is to unentangle the confused threads of great historical transactions; it impresses, again, on the reader, with a force which cannot be attained by any mere general statements, that the contest between the King and the Parliament—and the same thing is in a measure true, it may be supposed, of every great struggle—was a battle in which good men and wise men, as well as wicked men and fools, were pretty equally divided on each side. The simple truth is, that the crisis was one of great difficulty. Looking back on the great civil war from the distance of more than two centuries, it is, we conceive, possible to say that on the whole the supporters of the Parliament were in the right. They acted with more wisdom than their opponents, mainly because they had perceived one fact which was hidden from the eyes of the wisest Royalists. This was the untrustworthiness of Charles. Time has produced many worse men than Charles I.: he was morally a far better man than his father or his sons; but history has produced no man less trustworthy. The sagacity of James I., the selfish common sense of Charles II., the dull obstinacy of James II., gave adherents some characteristic on which they could rely. On Charles I. no man ever placed reliance without suffering for his folly. But though this vital fact was, when once perceived, decisive in favor of supporting the cause of the Parliament, no one can wonder that many good and sagacious men did not see the fatal flaws in Charles's character. Still less can one wonder that men who associated in their minds the supremacy of the law, the reign of order, and the very existence of national freedom, with the authority of the Crown, should have trembled at plunging into a civil war which, if the King triumphed, was likely to produce royal despotism, and if the Parliament triumphed, either anarchy or the supremacy of a military tyrant. Never was there a case where men of sense might more reasonably differ, and never was there a case where men of goodness might each think, with more show of reason, that their side was the side of virtue.

If Mr. Gardiner had rendered no further service to our knowledge of the past than to make us not only know but see why it was that the best men of England were at the time of the great civil war ranged on different sides against each other, he would deserve the thanks of all students. But our author has, from the way in which he looks at history, and the infinite industry with which he has worked out his own conception of impartial narration, done far more than merely make us understand in a general way the state of feeling in England from 1642 to 1644. He has, as we are informed by persons competent to judge, provided for the first time a detailed and intelligible account of the military events which make those years famous in the annals of warfare. He has described with the utmost accuracy the fluctuations of feeling which marked the early years of the civil contest—the intense yearning for peace, which unfortunately itself tended to prolong the war, the anticipation that the war would be of short duration, and that the Parliament might count on a speedy triumph; the disappointment which ensued when this anticipation was found to be groundless. The greatest, however, of the benefits which Mr. Gardiner has conferred upon every lover of truth is the new light which he has thrown upon the growth of the complicated body of beliefs designated by the name "liberty of conscience." He shows that the doctrine now so universally recognized, that a man for his beliefs, as contrasted with his acts, is responsible to his conscience and to God alone, was a truth which, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, not one man in 10,000 could even dimly perceive; that it gained acceptance rather from the force of practical considerations than through the strength of argument, though the theory of the relation of the citizen towards the state and towards God, which ultimately solved the most pressing problems of the age, was occasionally worked out, with more or less completeness, by solitary thinkers long before it commanded the allegiance of practical statesmen. Fuller, Chillingworth, Roger Williams each partially seized the clue which was to guide men out of the mazes in which they were involved by the traditional notion that the magistrate was bound to inculcate theological truth by use of physical power. That this was so is probably in a vague manner known to most of those likely to read Mr. Gardiner's pages. What he will make clear to many for the first time, is, first, the singular fact that the author of an anonymous tract—an author whose name cannot even now be plausibly conjectured—anticipated in 1644 the doctrines of Locke and carried them out with more consistency than the author of the celebrated "Letters on Toleration"; and, further, that statesmen who would in words have condemned the doctrine of toleration as a heresy, came (in England, at least), as the seventeenth century advanced, to perceive that civil liberty, social order, and the progressive development of society demanded that kings and magistrates should tolerate many beliefs which they did not share.

The historical importance of tracing out the spread, during the seventeenth century, of opinions and practices favoring liberty of conscience can hardly be overrated. It bridges over, or in reality abolishes, the chasm which teachers of a certain school wish to open between the men of the seventeenth and the men of the eighteenth century. The great civil war was, according to a view openly proclaimed by Carlyle and tacitly adopted by many other writers, a contest of heroes. The Revolution of 1689 was, according to the same authorities, little better than a transaction carried out by politicians whose statesmanship lacked every noble and heroic quality. Any one, however, who realizes that toleration was the need of the age, sees at once that the Revolution of 1689 in reality solved the problem which had baffled the statesmen and soldiers of the great civil war; and that the essential work of the eighteenth century was to give practical effect to ideas which had only been dimly grasped by the best and greatest men of the seventeenth century. The inadequacy of the intellectual methods of the day gave occasion to the civil war. The improved intellectual methods of the next age produced in England a period of reconciliation, peace, and progress. That this is one of the lessons that Mr. Gardiner's 'History of the Civil War' will impress upon the world is, in our judgment, past a doubt. It is taught all the more impressively because Mr. Gardiner comes forward bona-fide as an investigator and not as a preacher. Never, it may be added, was teaching more needed. The civilized world of Europe is again becoming involved in practical difficulties which have their ultimate source in the confusion and uncertainty of prevailing opinions. Wise men who study the annals of the past, will feel inclined to watch and see whether improved intellectual methods, or the recognition of some new or forgotten truth, may not close the contests of the nineteenth century, just as the doctrine of religious toleration terminated in England the feuds which culminated in the great civil war.

Mr. Gardiner is so eminent among historical inquirers that his most fervent admirers, among whom we are glad to number ourselves, need not hesitate to acknowledge that he has, like all men of superior powers, some of the defects almost involved in his great qualities. The sentences with which this article begins suggest what these defects are. He is, like all persons who delight in dwelling on the influence of ideas, a little too prone to underrate—at least, so it may seem to a careful student—the immense influence of personal character. We believe it to be absolutely and entirely true that no complete reconciliation between opposing moral and social

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forces could, during the first half of the seventeenth century, have been effected by the power or sagacity of kings or of statesmen. Nothing but the increase of knowledge, and the consequent growth of new beliefs, could by any possibility have put an end to the political and theological animosities which found their ultimate expression in the contest of rival armies. But it seems by no means clear that the presence on the throne of a monarch different in character from Charles might not have prevented the outbreak of a civil war. Speculations, indeed, on what 'might have been" are necessarily in one sense futile, but they are sometimes useful as enabling us to measure, hypothetically at least, how far a slight change of circumstances might have affected a given course of events. The assertion that Charles's character, and especially his untrustworthiness and his stupidity, had a great deal to do with turning latent discord into open civil war, admits of something very like proof. James I. was not a man of heroic mould. He was morally—and, it is probable, physically—a coward; but he was a man of natural sagacity, and his prudence, contemptible as were often the forms in which it exhibited itself, did enable him to keep on the throne, and in some degree to increase the royal power, without bringing the nation even to the verge of civil war. If Charles had been gifted with his father's shrewdness, there is no reason to suppose that he might not have ended his life as peaceably as did James. It is, again, perfectly clear that the sentiment of loyalty to the Crown was, during the whole of Charles's reign, a source of power which would have enabled any king of average ability not only to resist assailants, but probably to strengthen his own position. We do not for a moment suppose that Mr. Gardiner would dispute this; but if we concede that a monarch of no very extraordinary talent could have averted or postponed civil war, we in effect grant that the peculiarities of Charles's nature had at least as much to do with changing a Parliamentary conflict into an armed rebellion as had the inadequacy of the intellectual methods of the day.

ANCIENT ISRAEL.—II.

Geschichte des Volkes Israel. Von Dr. Bernhard Stade, Professor an der Universität Giessen. Mit Illustrationen und Karten. Vol. I. Berlin 1887. New York: Westermann. ['Oncken's Weltgeschichte in Einzeldarstellungen.']

The legends of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, our author emphatically asserts, embody no historical facts. They were local legends, separately clustering around sanctuaries of the ancient Canaanitish inhabitants of Palestine: the sanctuary of Hebron, the sacred well of Beer-sheba, and the sacred stone of Bethel. These spots were sacred before the arrival of the Israelites in the land. With the changes of the religious notions of the dwellers around, the character of the legends varied; they were modified and remodified. The Israelites—this appears almost certain—did not dwell under patriarchs in Palestine west of the Jordan, before their settlement in the lands east of that river. That they migrated into Egypt is equally improbable. Joseph is a Palestinian *heros eponymus*, the legendary representative of a tribe; his transformation into a ruler of Egypt is a work of late fiction. Even the poetical fancy which made the Israelites enter the Nile land as a family and leave it as a nation, left all the intervening time an absolute blank; the monuments know nothing whatever of the whole affair. Searching, as some Egyptologists still do, for the Pharoah of the oppression or the traces of the exodus, is a childish amusement: nothing is to be discovered in Egypt in reference to Israelitish history. The Israelites possessed no distinct and positive historical recollections reaching back beyond the time of the settlement in western Palestine. All that was earlier recollection centred dimly in the two names Moses and Sinai. Moses had taught them at Sinai to worship Jehovah. This worship had made them a people distinguishable from other members of the Hebrew race, such as the Moabites, Ammonites, and Edomites.

The Hebrew race was kindred to the Arabs on the one side and to the Aramæans on the other. Closely akin to Israel were the Canaanites west of the Jordan and the Lebanon, including the Phœnicians. The Israelites were descended neither from a Shem nor from an Eber. They were called Hebrews (*'ibrīm*) by their western Canaanitish neighbors, as dwellers beyond (*'ēber*) the Jordan—not the Euphrates, as former explanations had it. They called themselves sons of Shem when they had become masters of the land west of the Jordan, as the nobles of the land (*shēm* meaning name, glory, or distinction). They appear to have been originally a clan established east of the Jordan, on both sides of the Jabbok. Their *heros eponymus* was Israel, the legend of whom was subsequently blended, west of the Jordan, with the legend of Jacob, the seat of which was Bethel. The name of the clan was extended to others confederated with it, in the same way in which the appellations Latins, Alemanni, and Teutons have gained their widely comprehensive significations. The Hebrew clans which in later times constituted the nation of Israel, came into the Transjordanic region mainly from the Sinaitic peninsula; some immigration may possibly have taken place from regions bordering on the Euphrates, whence the legend of Abraham derives the whole race. As nomads of the peninsula they lived in peaceful relations with the probably Arabic tribe of the Kenites, and from them—who were perhaps allies of the Midianites—they seem to have received through Moses the religion of Jehovah. It was not the religion of their ancestors, but entirely new to them. A slow migration carried them into Gilead and the adjoining districts, the Judaic clan alone probably wandering northward, with the Kenites and the Arabic Calebites, into the region west of the Dead Sea. When these migrations took place, and how long they lasted, it is impossible to tell. In Gilead the nomads, hemmed in between the Jordan and the desert, by the kindred Moabites and Ammonites on the south, and by Aramaic tribes on the north, gradually turned tillers of the soil, built cities—Mahanaim, Succoth, Jabesh, Penuel, etc.—and grew too populous for their territory. The stories of the conquest and distribution of the country by Moses, of the Amorite Sihon, of Balak, and Balaam are fictions.

As the Midianites and Amalekites did in later times, the Israelites, in their nomadic state, must have made frequent plundering incursions into Western Palestine, the many fords of the upper Jordan offering easy opportunities for crossing. Peaceable transmigrations came afterward, the Israelites wedging themselves in between Canaanitish settlements, steadily gaining ground, and gradually absorbing the neighboring population. The whole history, in its more authentic features, clearly shows that there was no sudden conquest or invasion, no extermination of the natives, no deadly feud between them and the Israelites. The Hebrews, or Transjordanians, lived mostly in peace with the kindred Canaanites during the time which is generally, though erroneously, designated as the period of the judges—that is, before the union of all the tribes was effected under the monarchy. The figure of the great conqueror, Joshua, as we have seen, is the production of a late age. That no general conquest took place, and consequently no division of the conquered country, is shown by the earlier relation in the first chapter of Judges, according to which the separate tribes attempted separate conquests. That chapter, now falsely attached, as a continuation, to the book of Joshua by the words "After the death of Joshua," is evidently an extract from an extensive narrative, running parallel with that book and refuting it, which may have begun with "After the death of Moses" or "After the crossing of the Jordan." The warlike exploits spoken of in the earlier relation are, however, also far from being contemporaneous or authentic history. No such exploits, no such simultaneous movements, ever took place. The Canaanites generally held their cities, plains, and valleys, and here and there also a plateau or mountain; the Israelites mostly occupied first the intervening forest lands, which they cleared. Their peaceful advance did not exclude exceptional conquests with the sword, sudden inroads from beyond the Jordan, surprises and sacks. But these rarely effected permanent results. A part of the tribe of Dan succeeded in capturing an isolated town, Laish, in the extreme north, and establishing themselves there; Levi and Simeon treacherously surprised the Bene-Hamor of Shechem, but were driven away and scattered by the Canaanites, and Israel, instead of helping, execrated their treachery.

Israel was the first Transjordanic Hebrew clan which gained possessions west of the river. Clan after clan followed. Living among the Canaanites, they partly blended with them. Intermarriages prevailed. The sacred places of Canaan became sanctuaries of Israel. In all other matters of culture the Israelites learned from the cities of Canaan; in the worship of Jehovah they remained faithful to their own traditions and customs. Inferior in the arts of industry, they were superior to their neighbors in religious conceptions and ethical spirit. This superiority decided the product of international blending in favor of Israel. The Israelitish element began to predominate. Moral leadership led to material rule. The rural districts were won first; the towns much later, partly by Israelitish intrusion and peaceful commingling, and partly by treaty and conquest. Severe contests for possession and sharpened religious antagonism finally created permanent animosities, and the Israelite looked down upon the Canaanite as vile and fit only to be a serf to the Sons of Shem. And yet many an Israelitish *gens* had more Canaanitish blood in it than Shemitic. The absorption of much of the native element so strengthened some of the clans, especially those which obtained much clearable land, that they grew into separate tribes. A regular division of the people into twelve tribes, however, never existed. The country was never distributed, nor did the Israelites ever possess the whole of it.

The warlike tribe of Gad was powerful in the land east of the Jordan, and, west of the river, in the earliest times, the central tribe of Joseph. The latter, after extending its possessions in a southerly direction, was divided into Benjamin, Manasseh, and Ephraim. The tribe of Judah, in the south, arose much later, forming itself out of Israelitish, Edomitish, Canaanitish, and Arabic elements. Enveloped by it were the remnants of Simeon, which, after the discomfiture at Shechem, never rose to the dignity of a tribe. The dispersion of Levi was more complete still, but its boasting of Moses as its member united its families into a kind of a priestly caste, to whom the managing of the sanctuaries was generally intrusted. The priesthood was not derived originally from Aaron, who is unknown to the earlier traditions, but from Moses, whose descendants we find figuring as priests at the northern sanctuary of the Danites. Reuben never had any po-

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litical significance, almost disappearing between Gad and the powerful state of Moab, its constant enemy. Issachar, Zebulun, Naphtali, and Asher, in the north, formed a group of tribes living in small clans, closely surrounded by the Canaanitish natives, whom they were unable to assimilate or to conquer. At one time only (during the struggle with Sisera) Zebulun and Naphtali appear conspicuous in Israelitish history; Issachar and Asher never acted a noticeable part in it. That portion of Dan which remained between Judah and the Philistines was almost as powerless as Reuben between Gad and Moab. The extermination of the tribe of Benjamin is unhistorical. The chronology of the pre-monarchical times is a systematic creation of late redactors, and entirely valueless. The first attempt at founding a royalty more comprehensive than clan chiefship was made by the house of Jerubbaal in Manasseh. It proved a failure, though based on Gideon's deserts as deliverer from Midian. The greater merits of Saul as deliverer from a more general and more lasting oppression led to the establishment of the Benjamite throne, and to the union of the tribes. Samuel—who, like Eli, was a priest, and not a judge—promoted, instead of opposing, this transition from tribal anarchy to monarchical unity. With it real Israelitish history begins.

We have made no attempt to acquaint our readers with any of the critical processes which have led to the construction of the foregoing scheme of the earliest history of Israel. Those familiar to a degree with Biblical inquiry in its recent stages, even if as yet ignorant of the advances made on the basis of the Graf and Kuenen theory, which has completely changed the relative value of the main Old-Testament narratives, will neither be surprised by the results stated nor ask for explanations, which must needs transcend the bounds of a review in a journal like this. Readers who know only their Bible and apologetic commentaries, and perhaps an apologetic Bible dictionary, will, we have no doubt, be amazed at statements so often flagrantly at variance with the best-remembered texts of the Scriptures, and not a little inclined to attribute some of the assertions to defective knowledge, wrong judgment, or evil propensity on the part of the critical innovators. Such suspicions we are unable to disarm here by evidences to the contrary, but we owe our general public the assurance that the work itself completely refutes them. Never has the minute examination and dissection of historical tradition been carried out with more painstaking earnestness, sounder knowledge, and greater freedom from religious or anti-religious prepossessions, than in the histories of Wellhausen and Stade. In the work of the latter author, which in its analysis of the traditional accounts is firmly grounded on the writings of the former, the destructive analytical labor is so convincingly justified by intrinsic evidence from the respective texts—the Hebrew as well as the Greek of the Septuagint—that only he who shuts his eyes to all evidence conflicting with cherished notions can gainsay it. Of course, we are far from saying that no point of detail can be contested. The constructive labor of the author, in which more originality is evinced, is naturally based in part on conjecture, and his conjectural facts are, we confess, often propounded with too much positiveness. It is, perhaps, owing to the frequency of instances in which hypothesis must do duty for knowledge—a frequency demanding a reiteration of acknowledged doubt too tedious to carry out—that much appears presented with an assurance not warranted by the saved remnant of dissected tradition. The plausibility of the facts or conditions constructively elicited here from a mass of conflicting testimony is generally very strong, though a most plausible guess but too often proves a mistaken guess when verification is possible.

Recollections of a Private Soldier in the Army of the Potomac. By Frank Wilkeson. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1887.

THE author of this book thinks that the generals have had too much to say in regard to the history of the war, and that it is high time the privates had their turn. His contribution will certainly be welcomed, for it is a vivid picture—perhaps a little too bloody and harrowing, but none the less realistic—of the life of the private soldier, upon whom fell, as in all wars they must fall, the greater portion of the hardships, suffering, fatigue, hunger, cold, and death, which are inseparable from war, and which, in the accounts of strategic movements and brilliant charges, are apt to be overlooked. As a contribution to history, books like this are only valuable in so far as they recall the intense savagery, the relapse into cold-blooded barbarism, which is the accompaniment of war, and again as they describe the morale of the rank and file of a particular army at a stated time. Further than this, of course, the recollections and opinions of a private soldier, with his necessarily circumscribed vision, have no historical value. But in the two respects above stated this book is valuable.

The writer enlisted in the winter of 1863–64, and went to the front in company with six hundred bounty-jumpers—escaped criminals all, or nearly all. His active service lasted just six weeks, from the crossing of the Rapidan to the first assault of Petersburg; but they were the bloodiest six weeks of the whole war, and a blood-curdling tale does he tell of them. Deaths of the most horrible character, sickening wounds described at length, rifling of dead bodies, stealing rations from comrades in the fierce struggle for existence, cowardice of the bounty-jumpers and "coffee boilers," cruelty from officers to men, heartlessness, dissatisfaction, discontent, insubordination—all make a picture which can hardly be characterized as other than revolting. Yet it would be rash to deny its accuracy in any particular. It is only half, or less than half, of the story of the Army of the Potomac during those terrible six weeks, but it is a half which it is well not to forget.

As to the morale of the army, what the author has to say is of great interest. When the first fight in the Wilderness was over, and the troops were withdrawn from their lines, the men said to each other, "When we get to the Chancellorsville House, if we turn to the left, we are whipped; if we turn to the right, . . . it will indicate the purpose of Grant to fight." When they reached that point, they turned to the right. "Instantly all of us heard a sigh of relief. Our spirits rose. We marched free. The men began to sing. The enlisted men understood the flanking movement. That night we were happy." Yet six weeks later—six weeks in which every day had seen an engagement and every week a battle—the same men said, "No, we are not going to charge. We are going to run toward the Confederate earthworks, and then we are going to run back. We have had enough of assaulting earthworks. We are hungry and tired, and we want to rest and eat." And the author brings a charge which we have never before seen in print, viz., it was not so much the men who shrank at that time, as the officers; for while the losses among the enlisted men during the two periods, May 4–May 31, and June 1–October 28, were approximately equal, yet the losses among general officers during the first period were four times as numerous as during the latter.

Of the criticisms and opinions of the enlisted men on the course of the campaign, and of the system of "news-gatherers" who passed from camp to camp at night carrying the news of the day, much interesting information is given, and the following extract is worth quoting without abridgment:

"The enlisted men spent much time in comparing Grant with McClellan. The latter had many warm friends among the soldiers. He only, of all the men who had commanded the Army of the Potomac, was personally liked and admired by his troops. Soldiers' eyes would brighten when they talked of him. Their hard, lean, browned faces would soften and light up with affection when they spoke of him—and still it was affection only; they did not, as a rule, concede to him military talent. And the general opinion among them was—given Grant in command of the army in 1862, and the rebellion would have been crushed that year. Asked how McClellan would have done with the army of 1864 under his command, they shrugged their shoulders and said dryly, 'Well, he would have ended the war in the Wilderness—by establishing the Confederacy.'"

The Private is not content with telling his personal reminiscences and drawing a striking picture of the savage scenes through which he passed; in addition, he has his theory of the proper conduct of the war. It is only briefly stated, and is confined to the Preface, being neither proved nor disproved by anything in the text. His theory is, that the disasters of the war were due to two causes, (1) the calling for volunteers instead of enforcing the draft at the outset; (2) the placing of West Point graduates in command of troops. As to the first, it need only be said that a draft in 1861 was politically impossible; incidentally it may be noted that it would have put worse men in the ranks than the system of volunteers. As to the second, the Government acted largely on his theory in 1861 when it appointed Butler, Banks, Frémont, and Sigel among its first major-generals and assigned them to important commands. It was only disaster that caused the Government to look among trained soldiers for its generals, and from them produced Grant, Sherman, Sheridan, Thomas, Hancock, and the other great commanders—graduates of West Point with but very few exceptions—who finally put down the rebellion.

The New English. By T. L. Kington Oliphant of Balliol College. Macmillan & Co. 1886.

MR. OLIPHANT'S 'New English' is a record of the rise of new words in English literature. He takes the date of the first well-formed specimen of the new English to be 1303. He begins with Friar Michael of Kildare, his printed pieces dating shortly after 1300, and enumerates the new words and phrases which occur in them, pointing out that such and such are from the French, this and that from the Scandinavian, and many from the Anglo-Saxon. Then he takes up another book and deals with it in the same way, making good speed through scores of little-known authors to Chaucer, to Shakspere, and at last to Morris and the last revised Bible of our own day. A verbal index is added, containing something like 20,000 words and many more than 20,000 references. 'New English' will serve as a compendious historical dictionary till the great work of the Philological Society shall be available.

One who reads Dr. F. Hall's handling of Bishop Coxe's English philology in the *Nation* of March 3 might be interested in the expression "is being built." Dr. Hall gives it a respectable age: he has found it as early as 1769. A look for it in Oliphant shows examples in 1447–48. "You was" comes up in 1699, in Bentley, king of scholars; great, too, in idiomatic English. It was current afterwards for a hundred years. The South English abuse of *h* is an interesting puzzle in its cause and age. Oliphant finds it first in Miss Hawkins's novel, 'The Countess and

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Gertrude,' published in 1811; a rustic talks of a "*ot* loaf," and a lady's maid of a "*himpeeral*" (imperial). These examples favor the view that the dropping of *h* is the old natural weakening; the adding, an affectation in high life below stairs. Persons often wonder when and where our queer spellings started into use. A look at *could* in Oliphant refers to the records (1440–1450) of Coldingham Priory, vol. i. "There is a startling change in p. 160," he says; "the old *cude* (potuit) is written *culde*, from a false analogy with *shulde* and *wulde*." In Bishop Hall (1598) the old Teutonic *rime* is first "confused with the Greek *rhythm*, and becomes *rhyme*, p. 10; this absurd spelling ought never to be used in our time." Besides single words and forms, much care has been taken to note phrases, especially proverbs, and other expressions which embody the habits of thought or record the customs of each age, and everything which throws light on the pronunciation either of English or foreign words.

Thus much about the book considered as a sort of dictionary. Its distinctive feature and eminent merit is the exhibition of numbers of words and phrases together as they are found together in books. This presents us with the materials for the study of the language of any book, of any author, or of any age. About 250 writers are examined before Shakspere's time, and 100 more to our day.

These writers have been selected on the ground of their importance in the history of the language; many of them are of small importance or none at all, as literature. Comic and colloquial authors are best for this purpose. Little notice is taken of Spenser and Milton, much notice of Udall and Still. But the most elaborate study is made of Shakspere and Chaucer. Shakspere's plays are taken up one by one, and each has as much space as a whole book usually gets. The whole is stuffed full of curious facts, and suggests still more curious questions. In "Love's Labour Lost," to begin with, the French *caporal* figures as a *corporal;* the law term *escheat* becomes *cheat*, the people's notion of a lawyer's function; *epithet* appears for *epitheton;* a new kind of time-piece, the *watch*, takes the place of the dial; the adjective *spruce* (from *Prussia*) testifies to the smart dress from Prussia which pleased the Londoners; and so on. Some eighty words and phrases are mentioned in this play, a great part being phrases or loose compounds. The order in which the plays are treated does not agree with that in which it is generally supposed that they were written—perhaps Mr. Oliphant has strong opinions in favor of the order he has adopted. But his discussions do not depend upon the order as much as one might suppose, for most of his examples occur but once in all of Shakspere. At least, suspecting this, we turned up the words in "Romeo and Juliet," and found it to be so there. So that, in addition to the other matters, we have material for examining Shakspere's *hapax legomena*.

Mr. Oliphant is an Oxford man, and well up in the latest scientific knowledge of English as it appears in the works of Prof. Skeat and Dr. Murray. This particular kind of work is all his own. In 1873 he published 'Standard English,' a sketch of the sources of English, traced in the same method which he uses here, but through fewer books. That must have cost him several years of labor. He has now spent a dozen more years in enlarging it. In 1878 'Old and Middle English' appeared, and now we have the completion in 'New English.' Such a work must be incomplete, from the nature of the case. One man cannot read everything. Dr. Murray's readers have gone over thousands of volumes to Mr. Oliphant's hundreds. But, such as it is, all students of English will be glad to get it and must have it; for none of them will venture to decide questions of English etymology or historical grammar without consulting him.

Mr. Oliphant has a lively liking for pure English, and plenty of sharp thrusts for modern debasers of it. The Johnsonese of the press hurts him worst. He is most courteous to American scholars, and bountiful in praise of them; but he cannot see how they can write *honor*, etc., instead of the old *honour*. It pares down history, robs us of all our Norman glories. The old word "should abide with us in the shape it has always hitherto worn." This looks as if Mr. Oliphant had not noticed that of all the old words of this sort, *honor* most frequently appears in the old books with *-or*. Picking a place in Shakspere by the concordance where the word occurs frequently, "Coriolanus," ii, and turning to the First Folio, we find *honor* fifteen times, and no *honour*. Another trial, "Measure for Measure," ii, 1, gives *honor* nine times and *honour* eight, most of them being the address *Your Honour*, with one *honorable*. Looking to the analogy of the language, as our verb *honor* and the noun *honor* have the accent on the same syllable, they are naturally spelled alike, and like French *hon'orer'*, rather than *honneur'*.

The Practical Horse Keeper. By George Fleming, LL.D., F.R.C.V.S. Cassell & Co.

Mr. FLEMING says in his preface: "This little work is intended as a guide to those who have to do with horses, either as owners, purchasers, breeders, trainers, managers, or attendants, and whose experience has not been so extensive as those on whose knowledge it is based." As such and for Great Britain it is a desirable manual. Its value for this country is largely diminished by reason of the different uses to which horses are put here, necessitating, for general purposes, especially those outside of hauling heavy loads, animals of quite other types than any in common use in England. For instance, "the hunter" and "the hack," probably the best-known and commonest types of English horses, would not be recognized by these names in this country except in the localities where English manners, customs, and nomenclature are most affected, and really do not exist as a class. The "tradesman's horse," a variety treated of by Mr. Fleming, would also be a hard animal to find here, perhaps because there are either so few or so many "tradesmen." Again, the horse which in this country takes the place of the English hack, and we may almost say, hunter also, is the light driving horse for road or general utility purposes; and he, from his different conditions of use and treatment, is broken, bitted, harnessed, driven, and cared for in a manner radically different from any taught in Mr. Fleming's or any other English book, and infinitely better for the end desired.

Consequently, the parts of Mr. Fleming's work devoted to the hack, the hunter, "purchasing at fairs," breaking, training, and feeding, while undoubtedly excellent for the British Isles, are of but limited utility elsewhere, and much inferior for home application to several American treatises on the same subject. The latter portion of Mr. Fleming's book, however, has no such limitations of usefulness. It treats concisely and admirably of the common infirmities of horseflesh, and gives plain and sensible instructions for their relief. The chapter on "Nursing" is especially to be commended, and Mr. Fleming says, what can be proved by every humane man who has had horses in his charge, that "when a horse is sick, or ill from injury, recovery is much accelerated by careful and sympathetic nursing. However indifferent a horse may be to caressing or kind attention during health, when ill he certainly appreciates them," etc.

The Fall of Maximilian's Empire, as seen from a United States Gunboat. By Seaton Schroeder, Lieutenant, U. S. N. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1887. Pp. 130.

LIEUT. SCHROEDER has written very pleasantly and intelligently, and withal modestly, of the doings of the United States steamer *Tacony* in Vera Cruz harbor during the spring and summer of 1867. His narrative is but lightly and incidentally connected with the important movements going on in the interior, and he makes no pretence of being able to see as far as Querétaro from the sea-board. It should be said, however, that nearly all his allusions to the course and causes of events in those closing struggles show a good acquaintance with the facts. The Orizaba conference, leading to Maximilian's fatal decision to return, is rather unsatisfactorily sketched, and the amount of revenue promised the Emperor considerably exaggerated. We are not pleased with the author's spelling of the name of Mexico's great hero-traitor. It is true, we believe, that Santa Ana was the original form, but it has been entirely superseded by the common orthography in the writings of Mexicans themselves, and to return to it now seems almost affectation. The tombstone in the Gaudalupe "pantheon" has the two *n*'s. If any variation from the ordinary English spelling of Mexican names had to be attempted, we think a juster change might have been made in the case of Uloa, Ulua being decidedly preferable. The "Bird's-eye View of Vera Cruz" (p. 93) is correct for 1867, but not for 1887; the walls of the city having been demolished long since.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Adams, Sarah Flower. Arise, My Soul, Arise. Boston: Lee & Shepard. $1.
Burty, P. Bernard Palissy. Paris: J. Rouam
Carroll, L. The Game of Logic. Macmillan & Co. $1.
Champfleury. La Tour. Paris: J. Rouam.
Cournault, C. Jean Lamour. Paris: J. Rouam.
Creighton, Prof. M. A History of the Papacy during the Period of the Reformation. Vols. iii. and iv. The Italian Princes. 1464–1518. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. $7.50.
De Rougemont, A. La France. Notes d'un Américain. New ed. The Writer's Publishing Co.
Du Boisgobey, F. Cecile's Fortune. Chicago: Rand, McNally & Co. 25 cents.
Du Boisgobey, F. The Detective's Eye. Chicago: Rand, McNally & Co. 25 cents.
Du Boisgobey, F. The Steel Necklace. Chicago: Rand, McNally & Co. 25 cents.
Gillespie, Prof. W. M. A Treatise on Surveying, Theory and Practice. Revised and enlarged by Cady Staley, Ph.D. D. Appleton & Co.
Gladness of Easter. From the Poets. Boston: Lee & Shepard. $1.
Gruyer, G. Fra Bartolommeo della Porta et Mariotto Albertinelli. Paris: J. Rouam.
Hall-Stevens. A Text-Book of Euclid's Elements for the Use of Schools. Part I Books I. and II. Macmillan & Co. 50 cents.
Head, B. V. Historia Numorum: A Manual of Greek Numismatics. Macmillan & Co. $10.50.
Higginson, T. W. Hints on Writing and Speech-Making. Boston: Lee & Shepard. 50 cents.
Hill, F. H. George Canning. [English Worthies Series.] London: Longmans, Green & Co.
Jerome, Irene E. The Message the Bluebird Told to Me to Tell to Others. Boston: Lee & Shepard. $1.
Kingsley, C. See the Land her Easter Keeping. Boston: Lee & Shepard. $1.
Lemaître, J. Les Contemporains. 3e série. Paris: H. Lecène et H. Oudin.
Millet, F. Alfred Lebrun's Catalogue of his Etchings, Heliographs, Lithographs, and Woodcuts. Frederick Keppel & Co.
Von Holst, Dr. H. The Constitutional Law of the United States of America. Authorized edition. Translated by Alfred Bishop Mason. Chicago: Callaghan & Co.
Weld, Martha Coles. Illustrated Tableaux for Amateurs. I, II. Harold Roorbach.
Werner, E. A. Civil List and Constitutional History of the Colony and State of New York. Albany: Weed, Parsons & Co.
Whately, Archbishop. English Synonyms Discriminated. New ed. Boston: Lee & Shepard. 50 cents.
Whedon, Rev. D. D. Essays, Reviews, and Discourses. With a Biographical Sketch. Phillips & Hunt. 2 vols. $2.50.
Wilkins, W. J. Modern Hinduism; being an Account of the Religion and Life of the Hindus in Northern India. Scribner, Welford & Co.
Wilson, E. Quiet Observations on the Ways of the World. Illustrated. Cassell & Co. $2.
Winsor, J. Narrative and Critical History of America. Vol. iv. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.
Winter, J. S. Mignon's Secret, and Wanted—a Wife. Harper's Handy Series. 25 cents.
Winter, J. S Regimental Legends. Harper's Handy Series. 25 cents.
Woodhouse, R. I. What is the Church? D. Appleton & Co. 40 cents.
Yonge, Charlotte M. The Victorian Half Century. A Jubilee Book. Macmillan & Co. 35 cents.

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